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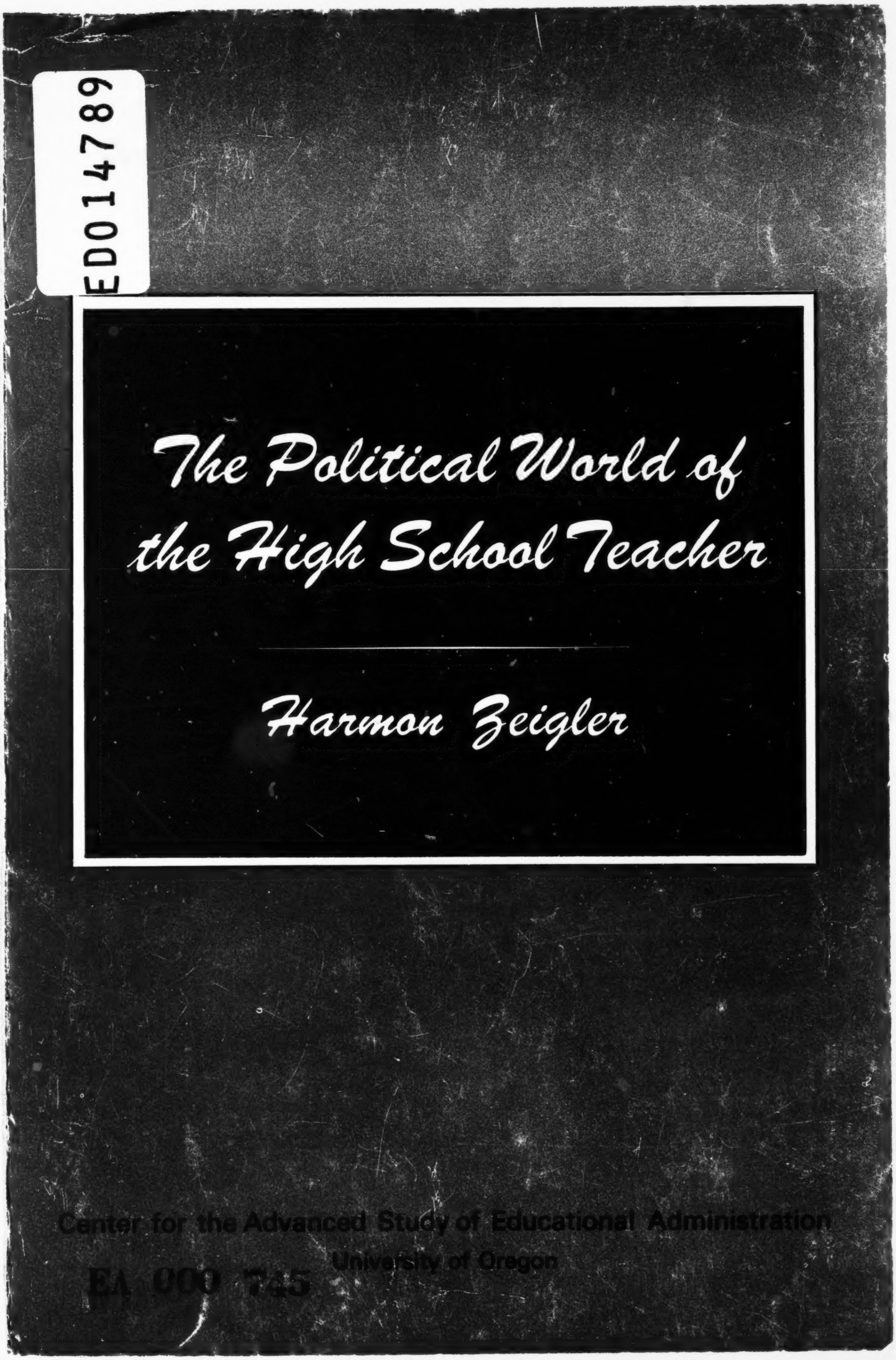
AS A POLITICAL LEADER AND AS A COMMUNICATOR OF POLITICAL IDEAS TO STUDENTS, THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER IS INVESTIGATED IN FOUR SITUATIONS--(1) REACTING TO JOB AND ENVIRONMENT, (2) PARTICIPATING IN AN INTEREST GROUP, (3) EXPRESSING POLITICAL VALUES IN CLASS, AND (4) REACTING TO COMMUNITY SANCTIONS. THE STUDY IS BASED UPON INTERVIEWS WITH 803 OREGON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS. THE TYPICAL OREGON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER IS FOUND TO BE MORE CONSERVATIVE POLITICALLY THAN HIS COMMUNITY AND TO BECOME MORE CONSERVATIVE THE LONGER HE TEACHES. SMALL-TOWN TEACHERS, FEMALE TEACHERS, AND TEACHERS OF BUSINESS EDUCATION OR GENERAL EDUCATION ARE THE MOST CONSERVATIVE. THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE OREGON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER IS FOUND TO BE MARKEDLY LESS THAN THAT OF OTHER POPULATIONS WITH COMPARABLE EDUCATION AND INCOME. THE FEW TEACHERS WHO DO TAKE PART IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE LIKELY TO BE MEN SUPPORTING SCHOOL BOND ISSUES AND SEEKING INCREASES IN THEIR OWN SALARIES. THE AUTHOR THEORIZES THAT TWO FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR THE POLITICAL RETICENCE OF OREGON TEACHERS--THE JOB ITSELF AND THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHO ARE RECRUITED INTO TEACHING. (HW)



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The Political World of the High School Teacher

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Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration
University of Oregon

EA 000 745

The Political World
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High School Teacher

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The Political World of the High School Teacher

HARMON ZEIGLER

THE CENTER FOR THE ADVANCED STUDY OF
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Daniel Langmeyer filled the gap created by the departure of Rohter and Luttbeg. Michael Baer and Thom Lane assumed a major portion of the responsibilities for getting the material in and out of the computer.

HARMON ZEIGLER

November, 1966
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Introduction /

This book seeks two levels of discussion. First, it describes the behavior of high school teachers *qua* teachers. Second, it attempts to present some generalizations about political behavior using teachers as examples. Of course, it is not possible to achieve an exact separation of the two levels of inquiry; they spill over continually and no chapter can be considered as devoted exclusively to either type of inquiry.

The description of teacher behavior is based on several interlocking strands of thought. First, I am assuming that the educational system can be understood as a sub-system of a more general political system. This is hardly a novel or original assumption.[1] However, when people write about political sub-systems they normally include institutions whose acts are so heavily laden with political consequences that the appellation "political" is the only alternative. For instance, political parties and pressure groups are clearly political institutions. Then there are institutions whose acts have political consequences of a less immediate nature. I cannot conceive of an institution whose acts are absolutely unrelated to the political system; I view the political nature of a particular institution as resting on a continuum ranging from "more" to "less" but not "political" or "non-political." Thus, the educational system presents an orientation that is primarily not related to politics. Of all the consequences that flow from the activity of the educational system, political consequences may not be the most important. Yet it is obvious that some of the acts of the educational system have implications for the political process.

The most obvious consequence is political socialization. As Easton and Hess, Key, Greenstein, and many others have suggested, children must be educated to perform the kinds of political roles expected of them.[2] Of course, educational institutions do not perform this task alone; indeed, they may be subordinate to other agents such as the family. However, as Easton suggests, the mere fact that schools have access to the mind of a child for at least 10 years during a period of critical development leads us to assume that the impact of schools on the political system is considerable.[3] Hess and Torney have recently supported Easton's belief. They found the school to be a major influence in the development of political attitudes among the young.[4]

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[1] See for example David Easton, "The Function of Formal Education in a Political System," *The School Review* (Autumn, 1957), pp. 304-316.

[2] David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "Youth and the Political System," in Seymour M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthall (Eds.), *Culture and Social Character* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 226-251; V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961); Fred Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

While most of the current research on the subject of socialization is concerned with the effects of certain experiences, including educational experiences upon the values and perceptions of youth, this book is concerned with the behavior of *agents* of socialization. While teachers may not necessarily be influential within the power structure of the school considered as an organization, it is they who are the vital cog in the educational sub-system because they have the most direct and sustained interaction with students. It is the teacher who, whether deliberately or indirectly, suggests or emphasizes certain types of political values and avoids discussion of other types of values. It is important, therefore, to know what teachers believe and to what extent they transmit their beliefs to students.

The transmission of material through the socialization process can be of many types. Mitchell, Easton and Hess, and others have categorized the various types of material which can be transmitted. Mitchell, for example, elucidates the following types of things which are taught: political motivation (the duty to participate), political values (individual freedom, equality, etc.), partisan values, political norms (fair play, being a good loser, etc.), and political information.[5] The kinds of values we are describing in this study fall somewhere between political values and partisan values. They are not so broad and consensual as freedom and equality; nor are they concerned with a specific reference group, such as a political party. Generally, the values can be understood as representing some dimension of liberalism or conservatism. We are attempting to describe the attitudes of teachers toward such explicit problems of public policy as federal aid to education and toward more general values such as attitudes toward authority.

It is recognized that the overt expression of political values is not the only way that teachers may possibly influence students. They have to maintain discipline; therefore, it is not surprising that questions of authority play a more important part in their lives than they do in the lives of non-teachers. Problems of order and stability assume crucial importance. Consequently, we need to know whether the necessity of concern with the preservation of hierarchical relationships in the classroom predisposes the teacher toward a respect for established patterns of authority, irrespective of overt ideology.

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[3] Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[4] As reported in *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 9 (November, 1965), p. 30.

[5] William C. Mitchell, *The American Polity* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 146-158.

Another question that should be considered is the extent to which the classroom is actually used as a forum for the discussion of political matters. High school teachers are encouraged, during their courses in colleges of education, to develop an enthusiasm for democracy among their students. "Citizenship training" does not, however, necessarily include the expression of explicit values concerning public policy alternatives. How does the teacher approach unsolved problems of public policy? Is the role that of referee or advocate? How do teachers build up a perception of the proper role of the class?

One immediate assumption is that their perceptions of their role cannot be considered without describing their perceptions of sanctions. Schools, perhaps because they have such extended access to the minds of youth, are constrained in their acts by societal expectations. The threats of sanctions may prevent the expression of an opinion which, all other things "being equal," would have been expressed. Even though the teacher has an explicit value which he would like to convey to his students, he may not do so because of fear of the consequences. Thus, perceptions of environments are important aspects of the political role of the teacher.

Equally important are perceptions of where the most severe sanctions would originate. Of whom are teachers most afraid? Do they fear sources external to the school system, such as patriotic groups; or do internal authorities, such as the principal, appear to be more persistent sanctioners? It is assumed that perceptions of sanctioning sources are functions both of accurate appraisals of the "real world" and distortions resulting from the individual characteristics of the teacher. For example, beginning teachers might look at the outside world in a way vastly different from their more experienced colleagues.

Finally, if we inquire about sanctions we are obliged to inquire about defense against sanctions; the relationship of the teacher to the professional organization is the place to begin this inquiry. Like members of most other occupational categories, teachers have developed formal organizations to act as communicators between the individual and the external world. An interest group is supposed to mediate on behalf of the individual by providing him with the influence of an organization through which to voice and, hopefully, satisfy his political demands. Who participates in the organization, what the participants expect from the organization, the extent to which the participants are satisfied in their expectations, and the extent to which the organization modifies the behavior of the participants are the relevant questions.

The portion of the inquiry which is less relevant to understanding the role of educational institutions in the political system and more concerned with understanding a portion of general political behavior deals, not with what teachers think and how they express themselves but rather with some possible explanations as to *why* they have certain values and adopt certain modes of expression. Of course, one does not speak merely of "teachers" any more than one speaks of "Westerners" or "Methodists." There are wide variations in teacher behavior depending upon a multitude of socioeconomic characteristics. Social science traditionally treats race, class, party affiliation, occupation, education, income, and so forth as the important independent variables to be used in the prediction of political outcomes such as voting or participation. Personality characteristics can be treated either as independent variables (i.e. "authoritarian" personalities are not in sympathy with the aspirations of minority groups) or as dependent variables (i.e., people with little formal education are more authoritarian than people with a college education).

The decision to concentrate upon one explanatory variable and to de-emphasize others is difficult to make. In this book sex emerges as the single most important explanatory variable. The decision to orient the empirical sections around sex as a variable emerged gradually as a series of inquiries began by an initial confusion. This confusion developed as a result of reading discussions of the role of women in politics by Lane, Duverger, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, Greenstein, Terman and Tyler, and Helene Deutsch.[6] Most of these studies reached the same empirical conclusion: women are less active and efficacious in the political process than are men. However, two different assumptions about the reasons for these differences emerge. On the one hand, differences are described as the result of social and cultural restraints imposed upon adult males and females. Presumably, economic and social modernization, with its expected emancipation of women, would reduce these differences perhaps ultimately to the point of insignificance. On the other hand, there is evidence that differences between the sexes are the result of inherent psychological differences. Greenstein found that sex differences appeared at a very early age and that "psychological underpinnings of political sex differences" might prevent changes in adult experiences and expectations from having a maximum impact.[7]

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[6] Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965); Maurice Duverger, *The Political Role of Women* (Paris: UNESCO, 1955); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960); Fred Greenstein, *op cit.*; Lewis M. Terman and Leona Tyler, "Psychological Sex Differences," in Leonard Charmichael (Ed.), *Manual of Child Psychology* 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954), chapter 17; Helene Deutsch, *The Psychology of Women* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944).

Presumably, such differences make it easy for women to accept role beliefs imposed upon them by society. Duverger, and Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes note, for instance, that women are dependent upon men for political information. Duverger states that "... while women have, legally, ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields and, particularly in politics, they usually accept paternalism on the part of men. The man—husband, fiance, lover, or myth—is the mediator between them and the political world."[8] One might be tempted to attribute Duverger's description to the infiltration of a French "ideal type" into a descriptive statement were it not for the fact that, in less delightful language, others have confirmed his findings.

What bothered me about these kinds of assumptions is that they seemed to rest upon the tacit assumption that women were best understood as homemakers and not breadwinners. What about women who makes as much money as men within a given occupation? Further, what about men whose salaries are equalled by those of women? By studying teachers, an opportunity to observe the interaction of presumed psychological differences and societal roles was provided. Even if society assigns to women, in general, a submissive political role, the teaching occupation enables them to develop a taste for the "masculine" world. Thus, do men high school teachers, a profession traditionally considered "feminine," continue to assert the dominance ascribed to them either by society or by their psychological predispositions? Because of the unique nature of the teaching profession (it is one of the few that is open to men and women on an equal basis), the opportunity to study sex roles in politics seemed ideal.

The study is based upon interviews with 803 high school teachers living in Oregon. The sample is a stratified, random one in which the teaching populations of medium and small towns was oversampled to provide a more equal distribution than would have occurred otherwise because of the heavy concentration of Oregon's population in metropolitan areas. It was feared that this might distort the proportion of men to women since we did not know whether either sex tended to concentrate in either metropolitan or small town schools. However, in the sample, the proportion of males is 60.5 per cent, which compares with 58.8 per cent in the actual population. The interviews were conducted by professional interviewers from January to March, 1965.

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[7] Greenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[8] Duverger, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

CHAPTER 1/

The Teaching Experience

The differential role of men and women in politics has not been studied very extensively. Among those studies which do exist, the main focus has been upon participation in elections. The general conclusions of the research which has been done suggest quite strongly that men take a more active role in politics than do women.[1] Explanations of this phenomenon center upon the concept of differential roles. The argument is that the society assigns a more dominant, power-possessing role to men and a receptive, submissive role to women. Since politics is, no matter how one might want to quarrel about the niceties of definition, an area of power and control, an equation of the political role with the masculine role is not difficult to achieve.[2] Yet the gross classification of political roles according to sex overlooks many of the subtleties of being a man or a woman. For instance, if the popular stereotype of the masculine role is one of power and dominance, what can we say of men who hold an occupation which is perceived as feminine?

While it is true that in political life generally economic and social modernization is gradually eroding the sex difference in terms of actual participation in politics, this does not mean that popular perceptions of masculine and feminine roles have changed.

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[1] For a general survey of this material see Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965).

[2] Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-214.

The feminization of the teaching role

In studying secondary school teachers, we are looking at just such a feminine role. At the elementary level, education is almost exclusively a woman's occupation. In higher education men predominate. At the secondary level, however, there is at least more of a numerical balancing of men and women. About two out of three male teachers are located in the high schools, and the high school teaching population is roughly equally divided between men and women.[3] Indeed, in Oregon there are more male than female high school teachers. However, this numerical equality does not diminish the primarily feminine dominance of the educational establishment. In the first place, most of the formal organizations of teachers do not provide for a separate organization for high schools. Consequently, assuming an equal attendance at professional meetings by elementary and high school teachers, the male teacher will still himself be outnumbered by females. In the second place, it take a long time for popular stereotypes to be erased. Even though males now comprise about half the high school teaching population, it is still the image of the "school marm" which plagues them.[4]

Doing women's work has other consequences of a more tangible nature. While men suffer degradation in status from working in a feminine occupation, they also suffer considerable deprivation in financial rewards. The financial discrimination against male teachers exists both in comparison to males in other occupations and in comparison to female teachers. It is true that men and women teachers are paid roughly the same salaries. However, most female teachers are either single or contribute to a secondary income for a total family. Men, however, must use their salary to support a family. Further, since women are excluded from many of the professions, the salary of a female high school teacher is better than the salary of most of the women working in other jobs. This is decidedly not the case with male teachers. Thus, not only do male teachers do women's work, they get paid women's wages.

Another way of examining male and female roles in high school teaching is to look at the career orientations of both sexes. For both men and women, teaching is an unstable occupation. The turnover rate in high school teaching is exceptionally high. However, reasons for this instability differ markedly among men and women. The female teacher intends to teach until she gets married or until she begins a family. The female perception of the teaching occupation is thus "in and out." For the male, the orientation is "up or out." The male regards high school teaching as a stepping stone to another profession either in or out of education. About 30 per cent of the beginning teachers anticipate remaining in that occupation until retirement. In actual practice, males turn out to be much more persistent in their teaching careers. They persist, however, in the hopes of getting away from women's work into either educational administration, which is almost entirely dominated by males, or into another profession.[5]

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[3] Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education," in Robert E. L. Faris (Ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), p. 754.

[4] Margaret Mead, *The School in American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 6. See also Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1956), pp. 241-255.

In both cases, teaching is a contingent role rather than a dominant role. It stands in marked contrast, therefore, to the occupations of the higher professions such as medicine or law. High school teaching is not only feminine because of the popular perceptions of the role of teacher and the rate of pay, but also because of the unstable nature of the work force. Teaching has the following characteristics of a woman's occupation: short-term work, large turnover, discontinuities in career, fleeing of men, and a general lack of occupation solidity.[6] In view of this overall feminization, it is suggested that the teaching career serves a status maintenance function for women while operating for men as a mechanism of status change.

Robert Lane writes that, "A person's work life is certain to color his outlook on society, to structure his attitudes and affect his behavior."[7] The words "work life" are important here because they clearly imply that it is not merely a person's occupation which colors his attitudes, but rather it is his perception of his occupation and the extent to which the occupation is functional in maintaining an integrated personality. On the one hand, there is the question of commitment to the occupation. To some persons, the occupation is a major component of their identity. Others look upon their occupation in a much more casual fashion, viewing it primarily as a money-making device and not so much as a portion of a total life style. Since teaching is less likely to produce total commitment than other professions, it might be expected that the teaching experience will not operate to produce a cohesive set of values. Rather, different types of people will react to the teaching experience in different ways.[8] On the other hand, there is some evidence that the teaching experience operates to erase many of the need structures of different types of people and to produce a pattern which is present in all teaching groups. While a psychology of occupations is difficult to achieve, there is some evidence which suggests that the teaching experience does contribute to a certain set of personality characteristics.[9]

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[5] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 754.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 755.
[7] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

What teaching does to teachers

Waller has described the teacher as being inflexible and unbending, conservative, and with an abnormal concern about status. He believes that if one does not have these traits when he starts teaching, he develops them before long.[10] The argument is that these traits flow naturally out of relations with students. The teacher must impose his own definition of the situation upon students. He must maintain discipline. Teachers live, therefore, by the authority role. Their livelihood depends upon it. "Conservatism" as used by Waller seems to suggest rigidity and the dominance of a need for security based upon fear. Security receives preferential treatment in the need structure of teachers in competition with other values.[11] Whether conservatism, rigidity, and need for security are personality characteristics which influence one to choose teaching rather than a riskier calling or whether these characteristics are a product of teaching has not yet been firmly established.

At any rate, we do have a portrait of the teacher as one who is not likely to do unconventional things or engage in unconventional teaching. In this chapter we shall examine the impact of the three variables discussed above (sex, income, and teaching experience) upon a variety of behaviors and attitudes. In general, there are three possible outcomes. First, males and females may have markedly different characteristics at each income and experience level. Second, people at each income level will have different characteristics irrespective of sex; or third, the teaching experience may minimize differences which might have existed earlier. The behaviors and attitudes to be examined are:

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[8] These ideas are derived from Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," *Social Problems*, 3 (January, 1956), pp. 131-132.

[9] See for example Philip W. Jackson and Egon G. Guba, "The Need Structure of In-Service Teachers: An Occupational Analysis," *The School Review*, 65 (Summer, 1957), pp. 176-192.

[10] William Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932), pp. 386-400.

[11] Jackson and Guba, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

(1) job satisfaction, (2) political values, (3) educational values, (4) personal orientations toward life, and (5) classroom behavior.

Job satisfaction

We would certainly expect men to be considerably less satisfied with their occupations than women. Not only is such an outcome predicted because of the nature of the teaching profession as described above, but also because earlier research reveals the job dissatisfaction of the male teacher.[12] Our evidence strongly supports these conclusions. When asked about the probability of becoming a teacher if they had the opportunity to start over again, 55 per cent of the females indicated that they certainly would become a teacher, whereas only 36 per cent of the males indicated that they certainly would become teachers. However, this is not the entire story. What about the impact of teaching experience and income? The following table indicates that there are substantial changes in the work satisfaction of males and females through time.

Table 1-1/ Job Satisfaction: Per Cent Indicating They Would Certainly Become Teachers Again, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE	
	Short^A (N)*	Long^B (N)*
Low Income^C		
Males	31% (201)	30% (152)
Females	50% (125)	50% (79)
High Income^D		
Males	42% (43)	31% (90)
Females	51% (59)	69% (54)

^{A} 9 years or less

^{B} 10 or more years

^{C} $9,999 annual family income or less

^{D} $10,000 or more annual family income

* (N) is the population on which the percentage is based. Responses other than "certain" are excluded from the table. (N) will be the same for all other tables in this chapter and will not be repeated.

Note: The cutting points for teaching experience and income are followed for all other tables in this chapter.

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[12] Ward S. Mason, *The Beginning Teacher: Status and Career Orientations* (Washington: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1961), pp. 81-83; National Education Association, *The American Public School Teacher, 1960-1961* (Washington: National Education Association, 1963), p. 67; National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, 35 (1957), p. 38.

Looking first at the low income groups, we note that low income females are much more satisfied than low income males and this degree of satisfaction does not change with teaching experience. In the high income levels, however, there is a shift in attitudes. The high income male with short-time teaching experience starts out less satisfied than his female counterparts, but much more satisfied than low income males. However, as the experience of the high income male increases, his job satisfaction *declines* to the level of all other males. On the contrary, as the work experience of the high income female increases, her job satisfaction *increases.* Thus, only 9 per cent of the high income females teaching a short time are more certain than males that they would start over again, whereas among the more experienced teachers, the differential between male and female responses is 38 per cent. It seems quite clear, therefore, that income does not necessarily produce job satisfaction among males, whereas it does seem to make some difference among females. The fact that high income males are just as dissatisfied as are low income males tell us something about the impact of the teaching experience upon the male teacher. He is making less money than males in other professions and he is doing women's work. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that income does not increase the satisfaction of males.

Political conservatism

We turn now to the differences which emerge as males and females look outward beyond the school system toward the political world. One of the most usual ways to describe approaches to political life is in terms of the dimension of liberalism and conservatism. Indeed, in examining the literature about teachers and politics, this dimension is used time and time again, but without any clear delineation of what being a liberal or a conservative means. Two examples will suffice to make this point. Beale describes teachers as being conservative by which he means they are creatures of habit and not experimentalist by nature. He adds that they are genuine volunteers of the interest of the middle class and that they prefer to do "regular" rather than radical things.[13] In this case, conservatism seems to refer to a reluctance to take risks and a dependence upon established and ordered patterns of behavior. With regard to political values, the implication is that conservatism and middle class beliefs are identical. Another bit of evidence comes from the National Education Association which reports that 56 per cent of the high school teachers who responded to a questionnaire asking them to classify themselves were "conservative."[14]

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[13] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 634.

To get closer to the incidence of conservatism among high school teachers, we administered three attitude scales to the sample. The first, a standard conservative scale, measured attitudes toward overt government activity, such as federal aid to education, integration of public schools, equal job opportunities, medical care, and the like.[15] The

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[14] National Education Association, *What Teachers Think: A Summary of Teacher Opinion Poll Findings, 1960-1965* (Washington: National Education Association, 1965), p. 51.

[15] The method of scale construction for this and the other scales used in the study require some explanation. The first step in constructing a scale is to select items which give valid indications of whatever attitude the scale purports to measure. In some cases, reliable scales have been developed by others. This is the case for the Conservatism scale which was used by the Survey Research Center in its national samples. In other cases, item selection is more a matter of intuition and individual judgment. The items can either be selected from other scales or written independently. In most cases, the former alternative is selected since previously published results tend to support the validity of the item. Once items have been selected, a measure of the internal consistency, reliability, undimensionality, and meaningfulness is needed. This is done by determining the functional equivalence of the scale to the original items for the sample under consideration. First, we ascertain which items can be considered as separate but related measures of a single underlying factor and therefore belong in the final form of the scale. Second, we establish a quantitative indicator of the degree to which a single scale score reflects the original items. Two basic procedures are followed. In determining item discrimination, total cumulative scores for each scale were calculated. Responses to each item were then compared to the total cumulative score to determine if the responses to each item were consistent with the cumulative score. Thus each item was tested to see if it contributed to the overall measure. For example, if a person's response to several items classified him as a "high" scorer, then his response on each individual item should fall into the "high" category. Items which did not appear to discriminate were eliminated. Next, we calculated the extent to which the total score accurately represented the multiple items. A frequently used device to achieve this goal is Guttman's unidimensionality scalogram technique. While this device has considerable utility, it presents some theoretical and practical problems. For example, the Guttman technique usually requires that responses to items be collapsed into dichotomies, which loses much valuable information if the data were collected originally with multiple response categories. For this and other reasons we used a measure of internal consistency developed by Kuder and Richardson, modified to take account of all variances between cumulative scores and item responses. See G. F. Kuder and M. W. Richardson, "The Theory and Estimation of Test Reliability," *Psychometrica*, 2 (September 1937), pp. 151-160. The resulting coefficient can be interpreted as a measure of overall correlation between individual items and scale score, with 1.00 indicating perfect correlation.

Another problem in scale construction is acquiescence. There is a tendency for poorly educated people to agree to statements regardless of their content while highly educated people tend to disagree with relatively stereotyped and unqualified statements regardless of their content. Therefore it is necessary to develop second indication of conservatism, which we call the Protestant Ethic scale, attempts to measure the values normally described as "middle class." It emphasizes attitudes toward thrift, frugality, individual initiative, self-reliance, hard work, and respect for established authority.[16] The final scale, Morality and Patriotism, represents a more fundamental (and perhaps extreme) set of attitudes. It emphasizes concern for moral standards and unfaltering love of country.[17]

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a measure of response set, of the tendency of people to agree to items that are clearly inconsistent or to disagree with items irrespective of content. Thus, in the interview schedule, items which contradicted one item in a scale were included. The problem is, first, to ascertain how many of the respondents were "content sensitive" and second, to see if acquiescent responses affect the outcome of the scale. For each scale reported in the study, the respondents were divided into groups depending upon an index of response set. In most cases, more than 75 per cent of the sample was content sensitive. Next, the scales were run controlling for content sensitivity. In every case the direction of the results and the magnitude of the relationships were only slightly affected. For further elaboration of these techniques, see Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *Journal of Politics*, 23 (August 1961), pp. 503-506. The work on the scales and the above justification of the techniques of scaling was performed by Ira Rohter, now of the Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

The items for the Conservatism scale are: (1) If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need; (2) The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private business to handle; (3) If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government in Washington should see to it that they do; (4) The government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white or colored children go to the same school; (5) The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job; (6) The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .800. In this and in the other scales respondents were grouped into three categories. For the purpose of clarity, the neutral category is not included in the tables.

[16] The items are: (1) Too many people today are spending their money on unnecessary things, instead of saving or investing it for the future; (2) What this country really needs is a return to the simple virtues of individual initiative and self-reliance; (3) Thrift, frugality, and industriousness are the most important traits a man should develop; (4) What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country; (5) Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn; (6) People should take care of themselves more instead of always asking the government to help them out; (7) A man can't be respected unless he's worked hard for some important goal. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .589.

[17] The items are: (1) History should be taught to teach the child a love of his country; (2) There has been a general breakdown of moral standards in our country; (3) What this country really needs is a return to love of country and old-fashioned patriotism. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .812.

Table 1-2/ Liberalism and Conservatism, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative
Low Income				
Males	33%	32%	34%	34%
Females	34%	35%	32%	39%
High Income				
Males	36%	26%	30%	31%
Females	34%	41%	33%	41%

Considering first the conservatism scale, we see that women are more conservative than men, but that this difference is greater at the high income than at the low income level. (Table 1-2) Indeed, at the low income level there is very little difference between males and females irrespective of experience. However, upper income males tend to become *more* conservative as experience increases, whereas upper income females maintain a stable ideological position. In the low income groups, the behavior of males and females is exactly the reverse. The low income males maintain a stable ideological position while the low income females increase their conservatism with experience. We can see, therefore, that in contrast to the assumption that the teaching experience reduces difference in attitudes, that these differences persist through time. Further, males and females at different income levels react to the teaching experience in different ways. It is true, however, that the general pattern is to shift *toward conservatism* as teaching experience increases.

What does the teaching experience do with regard to conformity to middle class values? Does conformity to middle class values, like conservatism, increase with experience; and are females more likely to possess conforming attitudes than are males? The pattern here is somewhat different. First, three of the four groups under consideration here do increase their conformity to middle class values as experience increases. (Table 1-3) The greatest increase is among low income females. Beyond this similarity to the conservatism scale, however, there are some important deviations. In the first place, whereas high income females were more conservative than high income males, the reverse is true in the Protestant Ethic scale. In the second place, whereas low income females are somewhat more conservative than

Table 1-3/ The Protestant Ethic, by Sex, Income and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	High	Low	High	Low
Low Income				
Males	28%	29%	33%	26%
Females	30%	36%	46%	25%
High Income				
Males	35%	26%	32%	33%
Females	17%	50%	20%	48%

low income males, they are considerably more likely to conform to middle class values, as measured by the Protestant Ethic scale. Assuming that high scoring on the Protestant Ethic scale measures some dimension of conservatism, it is obvious that neither females nor males have a monopoly on this set of attitudes.

Table 1-4/ Morality and Patriotism, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	High	Low	High	Low
Low Income				
Males	27%	35%	41%	21%
Females	19%	35%	39%	29%
High Income				
Males	26%	42%	32%	32%
Females	17%	37%	22%	27%

The final scale, Morality and Patriotism, confuses the distinction between male and female by suggesting quite strongly that on this more fundamental measure of conservatism, males receive the higher score. (Table 1-4) Further, whereas high income females are the most conservative, they score the lowest on the Morality and Patriotism scale. Low income males, who appear to be the least conservative, are the highest scorers on the Morality and Patriotism scale. While this scale certainly muddies the waters with regard to differentiating between the attitudes of males and females, it does make one point quite clear.

In every group being considered, high scoring on the Morality and Patriotism scale *increases* with teaching experience. In this case, the most dramatic increase occurs at the low income level.

It may be suggested, therefore, that these three measures of conservatism do not present a clear picture of males or females as more or less conservative. Nor does any clear picture of the relationship between income level and political ideology emerge. What does emerge is a consistent pattern of relationships between teaching experience and political ideology. In only one instance (high income males on the Protestant Ethic scale) does the conservatism score decrease with experience. In every other case (save that of a high income female whose score on the conservatism scale does not change) the more experienced teachers get the higher scores. One could argue, of course, that the process of aging is crucial in increasing conservatism and that the teaching experience *per se* is relatively unimportant. Yet a closer examination does not seem to suggest that this is true. In the first place, aging alone would not seem to account for the significantly different score of males and females at each income and experience level. In the second place, we can examine two further measures of attitudes toward the political world to suggest that the teaching experience operates somewhat differently than does aging. By using two other types of attitudes toward the political world, cynicism and alienation, this difference can be illustrated.

Cynicism measures the extent to which a person holds politicians and politics in disrepute to the extent to which these words symbolize something negative and possibly corrupt.[18] Alienation measures an attitude which is best described as feeling "left out" or ineffective in the political process.[19] It has been found that both cynicism and alienation increase with age.[20] However, among teachers, cynicism and alienation *decrease* with experience. Considering cynicism first, there is a clear tendency for males and females in both income levels to become less cynical as experience increases. This is especially true of low income males. Among the groups with low experience, the low income males are well above average in cynicism, but decline to the norm among the experienced teachers. With regard to alienation, the same pattern holds true. All groups show a decline in alienation with experience, and low income males (who are initially the most alienated group) decrease their alienation much more than any other group. In view of the fact that teaching experience seems to run counter to aging with regard to cynicism and alienation, there is at least a presumption that teaching experience does have some independent effect upon attitudes.[21]

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[18] This scale will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

[19] This scale includes items different from the alienation used by others. The main thrust is similar to that of the political efficacy scale used by the Survey Research Center. It will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

[20] Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl, *op. cit.*, p. 492; Edgar Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," *Journal of Politics*, 25 (May, 1963), p. 321.

Attitudes toward education: ideological inconsistency

If this is true with regard to general political values, then it should be especially true with regard to values toward education. We have found that teaching experience tends to increase conservatism. Is it also true that teaching experience will increase conservatism when the measure of conservatism deals not with political society but explicitly with schools? We are dealing now with an area of experience more immediate to the teacher.

The first of these scales, Educational Progressivism, taps the teachers' attitudes toward the most desirable methods of conducting the learning process.[22] In general, the emphasis is on the question of whether the schools should adhere to strict academic standards and strict disciplinary methods or whether they should cater to the individual needs of the student. The more progressive teachers would tend to prefer the latter alternative, whereas the less progressive teachers would choose the former. Admittedly, this is not a measure of conservatism in the normally understood sense of the word, but is a measure of the sort of conservatism which could be expected to exist in the public schools. If we examine the distribution of our four groups on this scale, we find that the earlier generalizations about conservatism do not hold true. (Table 1-5) High income females, who were the most conservative, are the most progressive. High income males, who were more inclined toward political liberalism than was true of high income females, are considerably less progressive. Thus, if we compare scores on the conservatism scale with scores on the educational progressivism scale, we note that the most politically conservative is also the most educationally progressive group.

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[21] In addition, while the relationship between age and teaching experience is extremely high, thus making a control for age productive of too few cases for analysis, a control for age does support the conclusions reported here.

[22] The items are: (1) In the first six grades pupils should meet specified academic standards in order to be promoted; (2) Schools should return to the practice of administering a good spanking when other methods fail; (3) Psychiatric facilities and services should be available in the schools from the kindergarten up; (4) Schools should place more emphasis on developing individual interests of the pupils, rather than teaching subject matter. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .652.

Table 1-5/ Educational Progressivism, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	Teaching Experience			
	Short		Long	
	Progressive	Non-Progressive	Progressive	Non-Progressive
Low Income				
Males	22%	39%	34%	39%
Females	30%	26%	24%	32%
High Income				
Males	35%	42%	32%	35%
Females	36%	27%	44%	22%

The teaching experience also has a significantly different impact upon the various groups. In the low income category, males become more progressive, females become less progressive. In the high income category, the situation is somewhat reversed with the females increasing their progressivism and the males tending toward a more equal distribution of attitudes. Thus, there is no clearly established pattern with regard to the impact of experience on attitudes.

A somewhat more extreme measure of attitudes toward education is measured by a Faith in Schools scale which is somewhat analogous to the Morality and Patriotism scale.[23] This scale measures the extent to which the teacher feels the schools are getting away from fundamentals and inducing children to adopt points of view not held by their parents. The Morality and Patriotism scale shows that the low scoring tendencies of the inexperienced group are reversed by the high scoring tendencies of the experienced group and that men are more inclined to score high than were women. The Faith in Schools scale (Table 1-6) also indicates that all groups have a decided tendency to score low. Teachers considered as a whole, therefore, are willing to accept the idea of a decline in morality and patriotism as it refers to society as a whole but are inclined to have a considerable amount of faith in their schools. Concerned with morality and patriotism, they are not worried about the effect of education upon the values of the young. Both scales point out, however, the tendency of males to score higher than females.

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[23] The items are: (1) The public schools are not teaching the fundamentals as well today as they used to; (2) There is too much emphasis on cooperation in our public schools and not enough emphasis on competition; (3) Public schools change too many children away from their parents' ideas. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .746.

Table 1-6/ Faith in Schools, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Low Faith	High Faith	Low Faith	High Faith
Low Income				
Males	31%	32%	29%	40%
Females	30%	55%	20%	43%
High Income				
Males	23%	40%	31%	42%
Females	19%	51%	24%	57%

One would expect, of course, that attitudes toward educational progressivism and the tendency to put faith in schools are related to attitudes toward the political world. Generally speaking, this is the case; educational progressivism is positively related to liberalism and is negatively related to high scores on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales. Lack of faith in schools is positively related to conservatism, high scoring on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales. Beneath the surface of these continuities, however, one should notice the interesting contradictions in ideology. These contradictions are most glaring among high income females who are the most politically conservative and the most educationally progressive group.

Personal conservatism

A final way to ascertain the interaction of sex, income, and teaching experience upon attitudes is to consider the tendency to develop rigid personalities. According to the argument outlined at the beginning of the chapter, the classroom situation is supposed to contribute to the development of unusually high concern with status and authority among teachers. Facing a crisis in authority, teachers should be expected to emphasize superordinate-subordinate relationships and to be suspicious of change. They should prefer that their world be structured so as to minimize risk-taking and to maximize established authority. To ascertain the extent to which these predicted behavior patterns are in fact correct, we measured two dimensions of personality: attitude toward change, and need for respect.[24] Considering first attitude toward change, we note that the evidence is indeed supportive of these assumptions. (Table 1-7) In every case, high scoring (indicating an increased opposition to change) increases with experience. However, among high income females, low scoring increases at a much more rapid rate. Therefore, the high income females seem to be the least afraid of change. The sex differential does not appear to be very great here. Notice that at the low income level, both males and females have approximately the same scores. The basic difference is that the high income level males are more inclined to prefer the *status quo*.

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[24] For the Attitude Toward Change scale the items are: (1) It's better to stick to what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about; (2) If you try to change things very much, you usually make them worse; (3) I'd

Table 1-7/ Attitude Toward Change, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	Teaching Experience			
	Short		Long	
	Opposed	Not Opposed	Opposed	Not Opposed
Low Income				
Males	31%	32%	39%	30%
Females	24%	32%	38%	29%
High Income				
Males	28%	35%	32%	34%
Females	24%	42%	28%	56%

With regard to need for respect, however, the most important difference appears to be between males and females irrespective of teaching experience and income. (Table 1-8) These data appear to reject the assumption that the classroom situation produces an extreme concern about authority. There does not appear to be any tendency whatsoever for the more experienced teachers to be more concerned with need for respect than the less experienced teachers. If the classroom situation does indeed produce a high need for respect, then those who had more experience in classroom should develop a higher need. Therefore, let us reject the hypothesis that the teaching experience produces a high need for respect and concern ourselves with the more

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want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .811. For the Need for Respect scale the items are: (1) A good teacher never lets students address him or her except as Mr., Miss, or Mrs.; (2) Students today don't respect their teachers enough; (3) He is indeed contemptible who does not feel an undying love, gratitude, and respect for his parents; (4) It is essential for learning that the teacher outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .698.

Table 1-8/ Need for Respect, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	High Need	Low Need	High Need	Low Need
Low Income				
Males	36%	28%	34%	26%
Females	30%	31%	28%	35%
High Income				
Males	30%	28%	31%	30%
Females	22%	41%	15%	52%

plausible possibility that the impact of the teaching experience upon males and females, considered separately, produces different types of need structures. Notice that among males, whether high income or low income, experienced or inexperienced, the distribution of scores is roughly comparable. In each male category, the tendency is to score high (although this tendency is considerably greater at the low income level). Among females, the opposite is true. The tendency is to score low. Further, need for respect *diminishes* with experience, which is not true among males. We may say, therefore, that the teaching experience does not appreciably change the need structure of males while it significantly reduces the need for respect among females. After all, their financial rewards for teaching are relatively greater than those of men. It is, therefore, not surprising to notice that the greatest distinction between males and females occurs in the high income, long experience category. The teaching experience satisfies the need for respect among women, but does not satisfy the need for respect among men. It is not being a high school teacher which contributes to an exaggerated concern for authority; it is being a male high school teacher.

It is important to note that the clearest sex differential is on job satisfaction and need for respect. That females are more satisfied and have less need for respect is related to the inability of the teaching career to satisfy the male. Therefore, there should be a relationship between job satisfaction and need for respect. This is indeed the case. Whereas only 29 per cent of those teachers who certainly or probably would begin teaching again have a high need for respect, 44 per cent of those teachers who certainly or probably would *not* become teachers if they could choose their career again have a high need for respect. Also, the category of teachers who certainly or probably would not begin teaching is composed of 78 per cent males, whereas the category of teacher who certainly or probably *would* become teachers again is composed of 56 per cent males.

The classroom as a forum

Having described three dimensions of conservatism (political, educational, and personal) we turn our attention now to a behavioral aspect of the teaching profession which deals with the question of the extent to which the classroom should be used as a vehicle for the promulgation of values. There is no question that controversies about education in the community center upon the issue of the role of the schools in transmitting values. Among the more extreme critics of the schools are those who accuse teachers of transmitting "un-American ideas" to students.[25] Some of these critics would argue that a particular set of values should be taught in the high schools. They therefore maintain that the school should be used as an explicit agent for the political indoctrination of youth. This indoctrination, when advocated, normally takes the form of instilling the student with a respect for the preservation of the *status quo*. If teachers advocated social and economic reforms, for example, they believe that the community would disapprove.[26] Teachers themselves have been described as subscribing to the role of "mediator of the culture."[27] They believe that the teacher should equip students with values peculiar to a democracy. This does not mean, however, that teachers necessarily believe that they should express opinions of a nature somewhat more explicit than vague and generally supportive comments about the values of democratic society.

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[25] Bessie Louise Pierce's work is the best source for understanding community pressure on schools prior to World War II. See *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926) and *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1933). For more recent studies consult the following: Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," *American Sociological Review*, 28 (February, 1963), pp. 69-75; Byron Callaway, "Are Teachers Under Community Pressure?," *School and Community*, 37 (December, 1951), pp. 458-459.

[26] The National Education Association reported that most teachers do not believe there is community opposition to teaching about "controversial" topics (the United Nations and communism) in the classroom. See *What Teachers Think*, p. 13. These do not appear to be especially controversial, especially since the questions did not elicit a response about what might happen if the teacher expressed personal values. On the question of advocacy, see Lloyd V. Manwiller, "Expectations Regarding Teachers," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 26 (June, 1958), p. 332.

[27] C. E. Fishburn, "Teacher Role Perception in the Secondary School," *Journal of Teacher Education*, 13 (March, 1962), p. 58.

To find out how teachers view their classroom role, we asked them to indicate whether they thought teachers should use their classroom as a vehicle for the expression of their own personal values. The types of issues on which values could be expressed consisted of public criticism of local officials, explanation to the class of reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate, allowing an atheist to address the class, speaking in class against the censorship of pornographic literature, against the John Birch Society, in favor of nationalization of steel and railroads, in favor of the Medicare program, in favor of the United Nations, in favor of socialism, and in favor of the close regulation of labor unions by the federal government. It will be noticed that the overtly political topics tend to require that the teachers express a liberal opinion. This is a deliberate choice made after a preliminary consultation with school officials. The consensus of opinion was that the community would be far more likely to react against the teacher for the expressions of liberal than conservative opinions. In spite of this, it was decided to insert one topic on which the teacher would be given the opportunity to express a conservative opinion. This makes it possible to analyze classroom behavior in terms of, first, an overall perception of the classroom as a forum, and second, the classroom as forum for the presentation of liberal or conservative values. Let us examine first the overall pattern making no distinction between the type of opinion which the teachers feel should be expressed in class.[28] Two patterns become immediately apparent. (Table 1-9) First,

Table 1-9/ The Classroom as a Forum for the Expression of Values, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	Teaching Experience			
	Short		Long	
	Low	High	Low	High
Low Income				
Males	27%	27%	32%	22%
Females	23%	30%	44%	23%
High Income				
Males	30%	42%	30%	18%
Females	24%	40%	30%	20%

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[28] The index for this table was created by assigning a respondent one point for each answer indicating that an opinion should be expressed. A position on the index was calculated by the total score. Low scores were those with two points or less, high scorers were those with eight or more points.

among the teachers with short experience, the tendency to score high is greatest in the upper income groups. However, these same groups become the lowest scorers as experience increases. Can we conclude therefore that the teaching experience contributes to general reluctance to speak in class about controversial topics?

This, in general, appears to be the case. But let us look at some possible alternative explanations. If we consider the opportunity to express a conservative opinion (speaking in favor of the control of labor unions by the federal government), contrasted with the opportunity to express a liberal opinion (speaking in favor of nationalizing steel and railroads), what patterns emerge? Here we see (Table 1-10) that the willingness of teachers to express a liberal opinion *does* decline with experience, but that the willingness to express a conservative opinion does not decline with experience (with the exception of the high income female). This would tend to suggest that either the teachers, as they become more conservative, shift to the expression of conservative opinions or that, as they gain experience, they perceive the community as being more hostile to the expression of liberal opinions. It would seem, therefore, that the teaching experience does operate to reduce the willingness of the teacher to express opinions in class, but it operates more strongly with regard to the expression of liberal opinions.

Table 1-10/ Contrasting Beliefs about the Expression of Liberal and Conservative Opinions: Percentage of Teachers Who Believe They Should Express Opinions in Favor of the Nationalization of Steel Companies and Railroads and in favor of the Close Regulation of Labor Unions, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Steel & RR's	Labor	Steel & RR's	Labor
Low Income				
Males	37%	45%	32%	49%
Females	46%	45%	35%	44%
High Income				
Males	49%	49%	31%	43%
Females	46%	54%	39%	44%

Does this mean that the teaching experience is not in itself important in reducing the reluctance of teachers to express their opinion in class? Let us get at this problem by trying to divorce as much as possible the expression of an opinion from the nature of that opinion.

To do this, let us consider willingness to speak in favor of both the liberal and conservative items. If we forget about the content of the item and simply examine the willingness of the teacher to express an opinion, this should reduce the bias of the item. A further dissection of behavior can be made if we look at those teachers who are willing to express a conservative opinion but not a liberal opinion and vice versa. Here we see that, irrespective of the nature of the opinion being expressed, the teaching experience does contribute to a general reticence. In all categories (Table 1-11) the percentage of teachers who believe that both types of opinions should be expressed in class declines with experience.

Table 1-11/ Biases in the Expression of Opinions, by Sex, Income, and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE							
	Short				Long			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Low Income								
Males	32%	50%	4%	13%	30%	49%	2%	19%
Females	37%	46%	10%	8%	31%	51%	5%	14%
High Income								
Males	47%	49%	2%	2%	29%	54%	2%	14%
Females	42%	42%	3%	12%	37%	53%	2%	7%

1 belief that both liberal and conservative opinions should be expressed.
2 belief that neither liberal nor conservative opinions should be expressed.
3 belief that liberal but not conservative opinions should be expressed.
4 belief that conservative but not liberal opinions should be expressed.

Now let us examine the pattern of behavior with regard to the teachers who commit a "liberal error" (those teachers who believe that liberal but not conservative opinions should be expressed) and those who commit a "conservative error" (those who believe that conservative but not liberal opinions should be expressed). In every case, with the exception of high income females, conservative errors *increase* with experience while liberal errors either decline or remain stable. The general pattern then seems to be quite clear that (1) teaching experience requires the willingness of the teacher to express opinions in class, (2) this experience operates much more severely upon the willingness to express liberal opinions in class. It is interesting to note that the upper income females who are the most conservative are also the most willing to allow teachers to express both conservative and liberal opinions and are least likely to make conservative errors (at the long experience level). This runs strikingly contrary to the overall relationship between political ideology and willingness to tolerate the expression of opinions in class. Forty-three per cent of the liberals believe that both liberal and conservative opinions should be expressed in class, whereas only 28 per cent of the conservatives believe this. It is, of course, true that liberals are more willing to tolerate the expression of conservative opinions. Nevertheless, there does seem to be some willingness of the liberals to use the classroom as a forum and a general reluctance on the part of the conservatives to do so.

Emergent patterns

What is it about the high income females which makes them so different from the overall pattern? Indeed, the strikingly deviant behavior of the high income females becomes apparent by almost any measure. For instance, 54 per cent of the high income females believe that the teachers should express the opinion that labor should be regulated by the federal government (the highest percentage of any group). However, with experience the high income females exhibit the greatest decline in this opinion so that their willingness to tolerate expressions about the regulation of both business and labor show the least difference. Turning back to the behavior of the high income females on the measures considered here, we note that they have the highest satisfaction with their job, the least need for respect, the least opposition to change, the highest scores on the Conservatism scale, but the lowest scores on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales, the highest scores on the Educational Progressivism scale, and the greatest faith in schools. The most clearly contrasting pattern is that of the low income males who are the most opposed to change. They are more liberal than the high income females, but they are also more inclined to score high on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales. Initially far less educationally progressive, they do increase their score with experience but are still less progressive than high income females. Finally, the low income males exhibit the least faith in schools. Between these two extreme patterns fall the high income males who seem to have more in common with low income males than with high income females, and the low income females whose values seem at times closer to low income males and other times closer to high income females. For the male teacher, then, the clearest congruence of values is with other males irrespective of income; while with females the tendency to adopt a set of values based on sex is not nearly so great.

CHAPTER 2/

Social Mobility and Political Values

A great deal has been written about the role of social class in political behavior, but very little has been written about the impact of social mobility. If we examine the social class composition of the teaching population as a static concept, we will not learn very much because most teachers are regarded (and regard themselves) as members of the middle class. If teachers as members of this broadly designed segment of the population we call the middle class are typical of the behavior of this class, they should be expected to have moderately conservative views, lean toward the Republican party, and have a preference for socially accepted behavior. These are precisely the values which we have found to characterize the teaching profession. Therefore, let us leave the concept of class and consider, rather, the impact of moving up and down the social ladder.

Considering first upward mobility, the generalization one most frequently encounters is that people who are rising are often excessively concerned with the values of the class to which they aspire.[1] Based on the assumption that people need to convince themselves, and those who observe their behavior, that they really "belong," the expectation is that upwardly mobile people may actually exhibit more conformity to group norms than those people whose identification with a class is more firmly established. Merton refers to this process as "anticipatory socialization."[2] However, evidence to support this generalization is meager and, if anything, tends to contradict the assumption of anticipatory socialization. For example, West found that men who worked their way through college were less opposed to government planning when they were still in the lower income brackets. However, when they had risen to higher brackets they were more opposed to government planning than a comparative group which had always been in the privileged class (had not had to work their way through college).[3] It seems, therefore, that the attitudes of the upwardly mobile person do indeed become more extreme than those of the person whose position in the upper classes is stable, but that these attitudes reach this extremity after the position in the higher class is secure. We may suppose, therefore, that the process of anticipatory socialization reaches fruition only when there is objective evidence that class identification has been established.

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[1] Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 428.

What about downward mobility? We can hardly assume a reverse sort of anticipatory socialization. That is, it would not be feasible to assume that those moving down the class ladder aspire to the values of the lower class to which they are moving. It would seem more reasonable to expect that "those moving down the social ladder tend to retain the values, attitudes, norms, and standards of the class from which they are falling, partly in the aspiration and the hope to return."[4] Further, it is likely that whereas class stability (regardless of whether the stability exists in the upper or lower classes) contributes to the individual's security and lack of frustrations, mobility, especially downward mobility, increases frustration and insecurity. Thus, it was found that mobility results in increase in prejudice.[5] It may be true, therefore, that whereas the upwardly mobile person makes a conscious effort to acquire the values of the class to which he aspires, the attitudes of the downwardly mobile person are determined less by deliberation than by fear.

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[2] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 265-268.

[3] Patricia Salter West, "Social Mobility Among College Graduates," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (New York: The Free Press), pp. 479-480. See also Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 66-67.

[4] Berelson and Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

[5] Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-491; Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *The Dynamics of Prejudice* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 57-61. Other evidence of the disruptive consequences can be found in Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (New York: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 246-254. Durkheim found suicide rates to be higher among both upward and downward mobile people than in stationary groups. There is also some evidence that upward mobile people are more likely to have mental breakdowns than stationary people. See A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis, and E. Kirby, "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," *American Sociological Review*, 19, (October, 1954), pp. 577-591.

The social class background of teachers

In this chapter, we shall examine the impact of mobility upon the attitudes and behaviors of teachers. It is generally believed that teaching is one way of climbing up the social ladder, and that one of the motivations guiding persons toward the teaching career is the desire to leave the class into which one is born. The studies of the class composition of the teaching population suggest that teachers are recruited from the lower ranking classes and that teachers are quite often mobile individuals who have moved up the status hierarchy.[6] This evidence plus the assumption that anticipatory socialization and excessive identification with the higher class are correct descriptions of behavior are the foundation for the belief that teachers overemphasize middle class values. For instance, Hollingshead's study of teachers in a middle western community showed that preferential treatment was given to the children of the upper classes. A sort of double standard apparently existed. Misbehavior that resulted in severe punishment to children of lower classes was tolerated when upper class children were involved. In this, and in many other ways, teachers favored the students from upper and middle class backgrounds and discriminated against students from the lower classes.[7]

Of course, one cannot say that this discrimination against lower class children is a result of the fact that teachers, having escaped from the lower classes, were anxious to establish their credentials as legitimate members of the middle class. In fact, our evidence indicates that, whereas teaching may be regarded as a step up the ladder by males, it is probably not regarded as such by females. Fifty-six per cent of the males in the sample came from lower class backgrounds compared with only 39 per cent of the females.[8] Since the majority of the females did not come from the lower classes, anticipatory socialization would presumably be an inaccurate term in describing their behavior. However, while anticipatory socialization would be less operative within the female teaching population considered as a whole, there are, of course, females who are upwardly mobile and, hence, the term need not be discarded. It is fruitful, therefore, to compare the political ideologies of mobile groups with stable groups in the teaching profession.

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[6] Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 467.

[7] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), pp. 163-203.

[8] The findings about the class origins of Oregon teachers are corroborated by a recent study of Wisconsin children who plan to become teachers. See Ronald M. Pavalko, "Aspirants to Teaching: Some Differences Between High School Senior Boys and Girls Planning on a Career in Teaching," *Sociology and Social Research*, 50 (October, 1965), pp. 50-53.

If we inquire about the psychological impact of mobility, there are fewer guidelines. Other than the supposition that prejudice is increased by mobility, little is known about what happens to the perspectives of people as their status aspirations are either realized or denied. Here we will consider both the political ideologies and perceptual worlds of mobile and stable persons. We will consider four groups of people: (1) A low stationary group, consisting of people with low incomes whose fathers held low status occupations, (2) A high stationary group, consisting of people with high incomes whose fathers held high status occupations, (3) An upward mobile group, consisting of people with high incomes whose fathers held low status occupations, and (4) A downward mobile group, consisting of people with low incomes whose fathers held high status occupations.[9] Because of the peculiar nature of the teaching profession (its feminization represents a status change for males irrespective of social background) and because of the fact that males and females have different class backgrounds, it will be necessary to control for sex in each of these groupings.

Mobility and job satisfaction

Before considering the impact of mobility upon attitudes directly, let us digress to a consideration of the effects of mobility upon job satisfaction. This is done to establish the fact that mobility does affect a person's outlook, whether it be political or not. We know that males are generally far less satisfied with their teaching occupation than are women. We know, also, that job satisfaction seems to operate independently of teaching experience and income. Here we will consider length of experience in a somewhat different light. If we assume that social mobility is a variable which contributes to a person's general political outlook, a relevant fact would be how long he has been a member of a particular class. For instance, a person moving from a high status family to a low income job might cling to the expectation that his status would change, with the gradual realization that his position within a class inferior to that of his upbringing is permanent, producing a more severe reaction than would be true with someone who has always been in such a class.

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[9] The cutting point on incomes remains the same as in the previous chapter ($10,000). The determination of the social class of the father is based on Hollingshead's Index of Social Position. Dividing occupations into either "high" or "low" categories from an index which originally included seven positions results in the construction of some heterogeneous categories. For purposes of ascertaining mobility, however, the problem is not too difficult. The "high" status occupations consist of those from lower-middle (such as owners of little businesses) up to upper (such as executives of large concerns). The "low" status occupations consist of those from skilled manual employees down to unskilled employees.

Table 2-1/ Mobility and Job Satisfaction: Per Cent Certain They Would Become Teachers Again, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE*			
	Short	(N)**	Long	(N)**
Down Stationary				
Males	29%	(118)	31%	(86)
Females	48%	(50)	50%	(38)
Upward Mobile				
Males	50%	(29)	40%	(47)
Females	29%	(17)	81%	(21)
Downward Mobile				
Males	34%	(83)	27%	(66)
Females	52%	(75)	49%	(41)
Up Stationary				
Males	32%	(19)	21%	(43)
Females	60%	(42)	61%	(33)

* See Chapter 1.

** (N) is the population on which the percentage is based. (N) will be the same for the other tables in this chapter and will not be repeated.

The data on job satisfaction tends to suggest that this is the case. (Table 2-1) Among the teachers with short experience we note the following configurations. Upward mobile males are the most satisfied of any male group and are actually happier than those males whose status remains high. On the other hand the downward mobile males, while not especially satisfied, are at this point in their experience more satisfied than low stationary males. Consider now what happens when teaching experience is increased. The upward mobile male becomes dissatisfied with his job, whereas the mobile female becomes highly satisfied. The downward mobile male becomes dissatisfied, whereas the downward mobile female becomes only slightly less satisfied. In the experienced group, the females once again dominate in job satisfaction. Notice, however, that upward mobile males are more satisfied than downward mobile males, down stationary males, or up stationary males. Likewise, upward mobile females are the most satisfied of the female teachers.

In the previous chapter, we described the dissatisfaction of males generally with teaching. We may now add the dimension of mobility. The downward mobile male is both deviating from the values of a "rags to riches" society and is fulfilling a feminine role. For the upward mobile male, at least one source of discontent is removed. It would seem, therefore, that mobility does indeed have an impact upon the degree to which a person looks upon his job as satisfactory. This relationship between job satisfaction and mobility is important because it can be demonstrated that job satisfaction is a variable affecting political beliefs.[10]

Mobility, alienation and cynicism

Turning now to the impact of mobility upon personal perceptions of the world, let us consider political alienation, political cynicism, and trust in others (general alienation or cynicism).

Alienation is a difficult term to define. It has its intellectual roots in Robert Merton's idea of anomie, a feeling of normlessness or rootlessness, and its consequent feeling of isolation. Anomie is usually believed to be more dominant in lower classes, because, as Merton argues, it is produced by the existence of socially defined goals without the provision of access to the means for achieving these goals.[11] In this sense, therefore, anomie is not a personality variable, but is a sociological response to the structure of society. Political alienation is the same sort of phenomenon. It refers to the feeling of being left out of the political process. People who are politically alienated believe that the basic political decisions of the community are made without concern for their values, and that an effort on their part to intrude upon the political process would be futile. The lower classes in society have also been described as particularly susceptible to political alienation.[12] The question remains, however, as to the impact of mobility in and out of the lower and higher classes upon alienation. Would a person who is downwardly mobile be as alienated as a person who is a permanent member of the lower class? Would a person who is upwardly mobile be as unalienated as a person who is a permanent member of the upper class? Or would mobility, irrespective of direction, be sufficiently unnerving so as to produce a general feeling of helplessness?

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[10] See pages 47-52.

[11] Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-194.

[12] Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," *Sociometry*, 20 (June, 1957), pp. 105-116; Ephraim H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomie in a Small City," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 645-654.

Following the argument outlined in the discussion of job satisfaction to a consideration of alienation, we should expect that the upward mobiles should be less alienated than the downward mobiles. An examination of the table, however, indicates that this is not entirely true.[13] (Table 2-2) For male teachers the predicted pattern is correct. In the short experience group, downward mobile males are more alienated than upward mobile males, although the difference is not great. As experience increases, however, the difference between the two groups becomes greater. Seventeen per cent of the upward mobile males are alienated and 35 per cent of the downward males are alienated. Thus, while at the short experience level the difference between stationary and mobile groups is not clear, at the long ex-

Table 2-2/ Mobility and Alienation, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Alienated	Not Alienated	Alienated	Not Alienated
Down Stationary				
Males	44%	24%	26%	30%
Females	30%	38%	34%	40%
Upward Mobile				
Males	38%	33%	17%	40%
Females	41%	18%	48%	29%
Downward Mobile				
Males	43%	29%	35%	29%
Females	39%	29%	27%	39%
Up Stationary				
Males	32%	42%	28%	37%
Females	29%	31%	12%	46%

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[13] The items are: (1) Public officials really don't care how people like me want things to be done, (2) If it were possible, I'd throw most public officials out on their ears, (3) People like me should have more of a say about how things are run in this country, (4) I wish public officials would listen more to people like me. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .796. Neutral responses are not included in the table.

perience level the relationship between mobility and alienation firms up, leaving downward mobile males the most alienated and upward mobile males the least alienated groups (excluding females). One might speculate, therefore, that the downward mobile male with long experience has come to realize that his status is permanent, and the resulting feeling of loss of power is very great. This explanation does not hold for females, however. While downward mobile females decrease in alienation with experience, the upward mobile females actually increase and are the most alienated of all groups. It is also true that the alienation of the low stationary females increases. Thus, while the upward mobile male is substantially less alienated than the upward stationary male, the reverse is true among females.

Another way of looking at the data would be to note that among all groups who came from low status families, regardless of mobility, females are more alienated; whereas among those groups males are more alienated, regardless of mobility, who came from high status families.

There are several possible explanations for the strikingly different impact of mobility upon alienation among males and females. In the first place, we can recall the early argument that occupation of the male is more central to his well-being, whereas for the female the income earned in teaching is more supplementary. Thus, since we are measuring present status by income, it may be that the status of the female could undergo a more rapid shift than that of the male, depending upon what happens to her husband's salary. Consequently, the correlation between alienation and mobility among females need not be as great. Another way of considering these phenomena is to examine not the difference between males and females *per se* but to consider the fact that the alienation scale is concerned with perception of the *political* world.

It has been argued that the male, because of the masculine nature of his role and the manipulative characteristics of politics, is more concerned with the political world than is the female. The masculine nature of politics has been used, for example, to explain why women have a lower sense of political efficacy than men. In a random sampling of the adult population of the United States, it was found that about 47 per cent of the men scored high on a political efficacy scale, compared to about 37 per cent of the women.[14] A comparison of our sample of teachers with this national sample is risky on several counts, including the difference between national and state samples, the time lag, and the fact that our measure of alienation and the efficacy scale are not identical. However, the items are similar and certainly the two scales try to measure a similar, if not identical, belief. Therefore, we can intertwine the masculine nature of politics and the feminine nature of teaching to reach the conclusion that, among teachers, women do not feel "left out." Without regard to income, mobility, or teaching experience, men and women respond almost identically to the alienation scale. Further, certain kinds of male teachers (downward mobile and up stationary) are considerably *more* alienated than women. With regard to alienation, therefore, male teachers appear to be responding in a manner similar to the women reported in the national sample. It can be suggested both that men respond differently than women to questions about political power and that, unlike the general population, men teachers feel "left out."

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[14] Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

If this explanation is true, then we should find a similar configuration when we consider another measure of the perception of the individual toward the political world: cynicism.[15] Here we are exploring not the feeling of being left out of the political process, but rather the feeling that the political process is not worth much respect. The same hypothesis can be tested here. We would expect that downward mobile people are more cynical than upward mobile people. (Table 2-3) Once again this is true for males—at both the short and the long experience levels the upward mobile males are less cynical about politics than are the downward mobile males. However, while it is true that the downward mobile females with short experience are more alienated than upward mobile females, the reverse is true as experience increases. Here we find that upward mobile females are more alienated than downward mobile females. As was true in the alienation scale, the cynicism of females who are either low stationary or upward mobile increases with experience.

Once again, therefore, the relationship between mobility and attitudes toward politics is clearer among males than among females. We note that the upward mobile male is the least cynical of any group. If the pattern were to be considered perfect, it should also hold that

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[15] The items are: (1) Politicians spend most of their time getting reelected or reappointed, (2) Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interests, (3) In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments, (4) Money is the most important factor influencing public policies, (5) A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks, (6) People are very frequently manipulated by politicians. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .747. These items were developed by Agger, Goldstein and Pearl, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-506. Neutral responses are not included in the table.

Table 2-3/ Mobility and Cynicism, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Cynical	Not Cynical	Cynical	Not Cynical
Down Stationary				
Males	39%	27%	29%	35%
Females	26%	30%	34%	32%
Upward Mobile				
Males	33%	33%	21%	43%
Females	24%	17%	33%	33%
Downward Mobile				
Males	41%	30%	35%	30%
Females	36%	19%	24%	37%
Up Stationary				
Males	26%	32%	28%	30%
Females	38%	31%	37%	37%

the downward mobile male is the most cynical. This is almost true except for the fact that, contrary to all expectations, the high stationary females score slightly higher. This again suggests that for females the relationship between mobility and attitude is far less clear than is true of males.

If we argue that the differential reactions of males and females to these two scales is a product both of the sex differential and of the fact that the scales deal with uniquely political perceptions, it should be true that these differentials tend to disappear if we consider attitudes which are not related to politics. The political alienation scale, as we have used it, measures powerlessness only with respect to the making of public decisions. Suppose we measure a more general social alienation which has no direct reference to politics, but rather is concerned with the extent to which an individual feels that people in general cannot be trusted and that one must always be on guard to avoid being taken advantage of.[16] If we remove the political aspects of the equation, would we still find that the relationship between mobility and attitude holds primarily for males?

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[16] The items are: (1) Human nature is fundamentally cooperative, (2) If you don't watch yourself, most people will take advantage of you, (3) No one is going to care too much what happens to you when you get right down to it. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .756. Neutral responses are not included in the table.

Table 2-4/ Mobility and Trust in Others, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Low Trust	High Trust	Low Trust	High Trust
Low Stationary				
Males	35%	27%	27%	44%
Females	38%	38%	24%	42%
Upward Mobile				
Males	25%	33%	23%	38%
Females	47%	29%	19%	48%
Downward Mobile				
Males	31%	25%	27%	30%
Females	31%	28%	27%	46%
Up Stationary				
Males	26%	32%	14%	51%
Females	14%	52%	18%	57%

In this case, we can see that the relationship between mobility and attitude holds even with sex controlled, although the differential between females is slight. (Table 2-4) Upward mobile people are more trusting of others than are downward mobile people. This is especially true of males, but at least among females the pattern holds. The fact that this pattern does hold lends some support to the argument that politics is particularly salient for males. However, the fact that the difference between upward and downward mobile females is so slight makes it impossible to ignore the role of sex. This is especially true at the long experience level. Both upward and downward mobile females are more trusting than are males. Notice, for example, the downward mobile group. Here 30 per cent of the males are trusting, compared to 46 per cent of the females. Thus, the downward mobile male is the least likely to demonstrate a trust in others.

Another aspect of the table which merits close examination is the difference between the stable and mobile groups. At the short experience level, the difference between males and females is greatest in the stationary groups and least in the mobile groups. At the long experience level, however, the difference between males and females at both low and high stationary levels decreases to the point of removing any differences based on sex. It is now the mobile groups which produce the greatest differential in attitudes between the males and females. This is not true of political cynicism and alienation. With regard to these measures, the difference between males and females in the stationary and mobile group becomes greater only when we examine the teachers whose fathers held low status occupations. It is not true of teachers with high status backgrounds. We might say, therefore, that the expected relationship between mobility and attitudes is clearest when politics is not involved.

Mobility and ideology

If it is necessary to factor out females in trying to understand the relationship between mobility and perceptions of the political and social world, is this also true when we examine overt political ideology? One of the problems to be encountered when considering mobility, especially as it affects anticipatory socialization, is that most of the studies are in reality studies of the social psychology of males. In view of what we have learned so far, we might suspect that controlling for sex might considerably revise our theories of anticipatory socialization.

Let us now examine three measures of political ideology (conservatism, belief in the protestant ethic, and morality and patriotism) to see if, in fact, anticipatory socialization is operative, and if so, if its impact is roughly the same upon males and females. If we can assume that domestic conservatism is more likely to characterize upper in-

Table 2-5/ Mobility and Conservatism, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative
Down Stationary				
Males	29%	36%	37%	29%
Females	36%	32%	37%	26%
Upward Mobile				
Males	42%	25%	32%	30%
Females	24%	53%	47%	38%
Downward Mobile				
Males	39%	27%	29%	41%
Females	32%	37%	27%	51%
Up Stationary				
Males	26%	26%	28%	33%
Females	38%	36%	24%	42%

come populations, we can accept high scores on the conservatism scale as the norm for the upper class group and expect the upward mobile groups to surpass the stationary groups in conservatism. We can see at first glance that this theory holds true only for upward mobile females of short experience. (Table 2-5) It is true that this group is more conservative than the upward stable females. However, at the short experience level, upward mobile males are considerably more liberal than up stationary males. This, of course, may be true because the upward mobile males have not fully achieved identification with the higher classes and hence anticipatory socialization is delayed until they have "arrived." However, a glance at the table indicates that at the long experience level, whereas the difference between upward mobile and up stationary males is slight, it is still true that the upward stationary males are less liberal and more conservative. Further, the upward mobile females are substantially more liberal than the up stationary females.

Actually, it is the downward mobile group which turns out to be the most conservative. This downward mobile group is substantially more conservative than the low stationary group. Moving down the class ladder seems to increase conservatism rather than the reverse. It might, therefore, be argued that the downward mobile group is clinging to what it perceives to be the values of the class from which it has departed. Hence, we note that the downward mobile group is more conservative than the up stationary group. Further, the upward mobile group is more conservative than the low stationary group. One might want to argue, consequently, that anticipatory socialization is a two-way street. Those leaving the lower class tend to develop values which they perceive to be dissimilar to those of the lower class. Those moving into the lower class seek to retain values which they believe to be upper class. Nevertheless, in terms of the actual consequences, the dominant aspect of the table is that the downward mobile groups are more conservative than the upward mobile groups, whatever the reason.

In general, the same pattern can be perceived on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales. Tendency to conform to the values of the protestant ethic is highest among the downward mobile groups (with the exception of the deviant case of the low stationary females whose behavior on this scale is not in accordance with their behavior on any other measure of conservatism). Generally, downward mobility produces agreement with the values of the protestant ethic whereas upward mobility produces much less

Table 2-6/ Mobility and the Protestant Ethic, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	High	Low	High	Low
Low Stationary				
Males	31%	24%	26%	28%
Females	32%	42%	50%	18%
Upward Mobile				
Males	25%	33%	32%	38%
Females	18%	47%	38%	33%
Downward Mobile				
Males	25%	35%	42%	28%
Females	29%	32%	42%	32%
Up Stationary				
Males	47%	15%	35%	28%
Females	17%	50%	9%	58%

agreement. (Table 2-6) The least agreement with the values of the protestant ethic is found among the upper income females who can be contrasted with low income females whose scores are exceptionally high.

Further contrast between the groupings can be noticed. For instance, the upward mobile group increases its conformity to the protestant ethic with experience, whereas the upward group decreases its conformity. Likewise, the downward mobile group increases its conformity whereas the behavior of the low stable group is somewhat confused because of the fact that males decrease conformity and females increase conformity. One might generalize, therefore, that mobility, whether upward or downward, seems to increase the conformity to the values of the protestant ethic and that this conformity is greatest among the downward mobile. Thus, the concept of anticipatory socialization in this case is questionable at best. Upward mobile males are not more likely to conform to the protestant ethic than upward stable males, although upward mobile females are. Again, the overriding fact seems to be the relationship between downward mobility and conservatism.

The Morality and Patriotism scale underlines once again the unique behavior of the downward mobile person. Once more the downward mobiles are the highest scores. (Table 2-7) If we were to seek for a single pattern of mobility which was consistent throughout each

Table 2-7/ Mobility, Morality, and Patriotism, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	Teaching Experience			
	Short		Long	
	High	Low	High	Low
Down Stationary				
Males	25%	34%	37%	26%
Females	18%	34%	36%	26%
Upward Mobile				
Males	13%	42%	28%	40%
Females	18%	29%	33%	33%
Downward Mobile				
Males	31%	36%	47%	15%
Females	20%	36%	42%	32%
Up Stationary				
Males	42%	42%	37%	23%
Females	17%	41%	15%	24%

measure, it would certainly be the downward mobile group. This is the group for which sex differences are least important. Although there is considerable variation, the average difference between males and females (considering the long experience category only) is only 5 per cent for the downward mobile group. It is slightly higher (7 per cent) for the upward mobile group; again, only slightly higher (9 per cent) for the down stationary group, but soars to 17 per cent for the up stationary group. It seems, therefore, that mobility is particularly capable of destroying differences between males and females and that this is truest of downward mobility.

It will be recalled that on measures of perception of the political world, as opposed to overt ideology, there were considerable differences between the males and the females of the downward mobile group. This might be explained by the fact that the measures of perception of the political world are concerned with the problem of powerlessness and provoke a more alienated and cynical response among the downward mobile males than among the downward mobile females. Ideological questions do not bring out such differences. Incidentally, it is of interest to note that the greatest vote for Barry Goldwater took place among the downward mobile group.[17]

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[17] The relationship between vote for Goldwater and mobility become clear only at the long experience level. At the short experience level, the differences between males and females are large. For example, 47 per cent of the upward mobile females and 4 per cent of the upward mobile males voted for Goldwater.

The need for respect

Since we are hypothesizing that mobility has the greatest differential impact when the question of power is involved, it will be useful to examine mobility as it affects a need which we found to predominate among males: the need to be respected. It will be recalled that we found the need to be respected to be much more characteristic of male than of female teachers. This was true irrespective of income or teaching experience. Does mobility appreciably change the need of the male for respect, even if income does not?

In examining need for respect, we are assuming that there is a relationship between a feeling of powerlessness and a high need for respect. Those people who feel that they are politically or socially impotent should have a greater craving for the respect of others. If we compare scores on these scales, this assumption is verified. Forty-six per cent of the people who have a high need for respect are politically alienated compared to 24 per cent of those who have a low need for respect. Thirty-four per cent of the people who have a high need for respect are generally alienated compared to 22 per cent of those who have a low need for respect. If we control for sex, we find that these same relationships hold, but they are considerably exaggerated among males. We would suspect, therefore, that need for respect is a male characteristic and that mobility would not appreciably change the need for respect of males.

A glance at the table indicates, however, that this suspicion is not confirmed. (Table 2-8) Considering first the male teachers, we note that among both the down stable and upward mobile groups, need for respect diminishes with experience. Just the opposite is true of the downward mobile and up stable males whose need for respect increases with experience. At the short experience level, the difference between male teachers is not especially great. We note that the downward mobile males have the highest need, but that this need is only slightly greater than that of the low stationary males and the upward mobile males. The only male group which appears to be somewhat out of the ordinary is the up stationary group whose scores are lowest. At the long experience level, however, the impact of mobility be-

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As experience increases, the vote of males increases to 30 per cent while that of females declines to 39 per cent. The difference in voting between males and females is minimal at the long experience level for all groups. At the short experience level, only the *downward mobile* group does not display substantial differences. The votes for Goldwater, at the long experience level, are: low stationary, 20 per cent; upward mobile, 30 per cent; up stationary, 24 per cent; downward mobile, 39 per cent.

Table 2-8/ Mobility and Need for Respect, by Sex and Length of Time Teaching.

	TEACHING EXPERIENCE			
	Short		Long	
	High Need	Low Need	High Need	Low Need
Down Stationary				
Males	35%	25%	28%	31%
Females	24%	36%	29%	40%
Upward Mobile				
Males	33%	25%	23%	40%
Females	18%	35%	19%	38%
Downward Mobile				
Males	37%	32%	42%	20%
Females	35%	28%	27%	32%
Up Stationary				
Males	26%	31%	40%	19%
Females	24%	43%	12%	61%

comes clearer. The group with the least need for respect is the upward mobile males. Indeed, their need for respect is actually somewhat less than that of the low stable females, and is only slightly higher than that of the upward mobile females. However, the downward mobile and up stationary males score considerably higher than their female counterparts. Thus, the contrast between upward mobile and downward mobile males is great. Further, whereas the behavior of both upward mobile males and females is similar in that their need for respect either diminishes or remains stable, the behavior of downward mobile males and females is quite different in that the need for respect of downward mobile males increases, while the need for respect of downward mobile females diminishes.

One cannot help but notice also that the difference between downward mobile and up stationary males is very slight. Thus, among males who came from high status families, income seems to be unrelated to need for respect. The same general comments can apply to the low stationary and upward mobile males. Here again the difference, if one considers present income alone, is slight. On the other hand, the difference between females of low status and high status background is considerably greater. There is practically no difference between low stationary females and downward mobile females, while the difference between these two male groups is great. Similarly, the difference between upward mobile males and up stationary males is large.

Unraveling all the strands disclosed by this analysis is speculative at best. What it seems to suggest is that income is a better predictor of behavior for females, whereas class background is a better predictor of behavior for males. Thus, moving out of a particular class is (at least so far as it affects need for respect) more important for males. For them the memory of the past seems to loom large.

If getting ahead in the world is a problem which is more important for males than females, this helps us to understand why it is that the downward mobile male who reacts as he does; his higher need for respect, his general and political alienation and his cynicism can be interpreted as reactions to his unfortunate position in the environment which surrounds him. Upward mobility is approved behavior and downward mobility is unapproved behavior. Thus, downward mobility can produce serious reactions: "... when the process occurs persons subject to it are recognized by the community as troublemakers."[18] We argue that these kinds of statements are more appropriate for males. For women the problem is not as severe.

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[18] August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 369.

CHAPTER 3/

Job Satisfaction: Work Experience and Political Life

In the previous two chapters, we made passing reference to job satisfaction as a dependent variable. We noted that, in general, males are less satisfied with their work than are females. There are exceptions to this rule. For example, upward mobile males with short teaching experience are more satisfied than females. If we introduce a new set of controls, we find again that the exception proves the rule. There are a few examples of males being more satisfied than females. Other than mobility, income and experience, the factors which are are most likely to contribute to or detract from job satisfaction are the community in which the teacher is located and courses which he teaches.

In this chapter, we intend to treat job satisfaction as an independent variable, but let us dispose of these last factors which have an influence upon job satisfaction. Taking the community first, we note that Mason found that teachers in metropolitan areas were slightly more satisfied than teachers in smaller towns.[1] Our evidence is supportive of these findings. Forty-four per cent of the teachers in metropolitan areas are satisfied as compared to 35 per cent of the teachers in small towns. Further, in both the metropolitan areas and the small towns, women are more satisfied than men. Yet, even here, it is possible to find an exception.

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[1] Ward S. Mason, *The Beginning Teacher: Status and Career Orientations* (Washington: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961) p. 83.

Migration and job satisfaction

In the last chapter, we inquired into the impact of vertical mobility upon job satisfaction. What might happen if we inquire about another kind of mobility, which might be equally significant as a mechanism of status change? We refer here to the situation in which an individual lives his adult life in a community substantially different from that in which he was raised. Specifically, we can compare the following groups:

1. Teachers in metropolitan areas, who grew up in large cities.
2. Teachers in metropolitan areas, who grew up in small towns.
3. Teachers in small towns, who grew up in large cities.
4. Teachers in small towns, who were raised in small towns.

Thus, as in the case with vertical mobility, we have mobile and stationary groupings. In making these comparisons, we are assuming that such changes are significant for the life-style of the individual. That is to say, there are distinctive features of city life. Wirth describes these features as "consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of the bonds of kinship and the declining social significance of family, the disappearance of the neighborhood and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity."[2] Does moving from a simple to a complex environment (or vice versa) influence job satisfaction? If so, do males or females make the adjustment better?

Examining the metropolitan teachers first, we observe, for females, mobility is of little importance, but for males it is of considerable significance. Regardless of the kind of community in which they were raised, the female metropolitan teachers display about the same degree of satisfaction. For the males, however, those moving from small towns into a metropolitan area are far less satisfied than those who have always lived in such an area. For small town teachers, the pattern is quite dissimilar. Stationary females are more satisfied than mobile females, but mobile males (those moving from the large city) are more satisfied than stationary males. Indeed, of all the female groups, the least satisfied are those moving from the big cities into the small towns. For women, therefore, the greatest problem of adjustment seems to be fitting into small town life, while for men the adjustment to big town life is more severe. Finally, we may note that metropolitan male teachers, who were raised in large cities, are slightly more satisfied than females who move to small towns from large cities.

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[2] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), p. 20.

Hence, once again, we can tease out an exception to the general rule of male dissatisfaction. Mobility into small towns from big cities reduces the difference between sexes considerably.

Job satisfaction and the classroom

The difference between sexes is also a function of courses taught. Although we have described high school teaching as a feminized occupation, it is certainly true that some courses are more "feminine" than others. For example, teaching math and science is more like "man's work" than teaching English or foreign languages. In our sample, 20 per cent of the math and science teachers are women as compared with 60 per cent of the English and foreign language teachers. Since we have related the dissatisfaction of male teachers, to some extent, with their performance of a feminine role, can we make the same type of assumption in examining courses taught? That is to say, can we expect that males teaching courses clearly masculine (both in their subjective connotations and in the proportion of men who teach them) are more satisfied than those who are teaching courses of a more feminine nature? Conversely, can we expect the least satisfaction among women teaching in masculine-dominated courses? The answer to this question is both puzzling and enlightening. First, the greatest satisfaction among males is found in those who teach business education or general education. Of all the subjects categorized in this study, business education and general education contain the fewest number of males. Second, the least satisfaction among males occurs in the teachers of math and science, which has the highest proportion of men teachers. Thus, rather than satisfaction among males being related to the masculine nature of the courses they teach, the reverse seems to be the case. Among women there does not seem to be much relationship between courses taught and job satisfaction, with the notable exception of math and science teachers. Whereas, in general, about 57 per cent of the female teachers indicate they would certainly begin teaching again, only about 29 per cent of the female math and science teachers would begin again. For females, at any rate, the least satisfaction occurs in the field which has the greatest masculine dominance. Consequently, irrespective of sex, teachers of math and science are the least satisfied.

Another interpretation for this fact would be the possibility that, since mathematicians and scientists usually command substantially higher salaries in non-teaching occupations, dissatisfaction might occur when the teacher realizes how much money he or she might

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make in another occupation. This, of course, is not true of social studies teachers or music teachers and, indeed, most of the other kinds of specialties normally required in the high school curriculum. However, to anticipate a later argument, people who go into teaching usually do not rank income as a very important motive for the selection of a career, so we cannot argue that this explanation is more valid than the explanation linked to the sex variable. For men, this linkage is quite clear. If we rank the courses taught, first by the percentage male and then by the extent of satisfaction, we find that there is a significant *negative* correlation; conversely, there is a significant *positive* correlation between the rankings on percentage female and extent of satisfaction. The more a particular course is dominated by females, the more satisfied become the males. For females, although it is true that they are least satisfied in the most male-dominated course, the overall correlations are not significant.[3]

Teaching as a contingent role

It is, indeed, curious that while we have argued that one source of the dissatisfaction of men is the performance of a feminine occupation, we find the greatest satisfaction among men teaching courses characterized by female dominance. We might suspect, consequently, that high school teaching recruits men with values more typically feminine than do other occupations. The concept of role might be less important in understanding male high school teachers than a knowledge of personality characteristics. It is, in all probability, true that high school teaching does not attract men with strong masculine values. On the other hand, we will argue that whereas male teachers do exhibit certain female characteristics, they nevertheless retain a particular male characteristic which is important when we examine job satisfaction as an independent variable.

Because of the nature of our economic system, the work life of a man is a larger component of his identity than the work life of a woman. In Mason's words:

> It is, of course, a commonplace that men and women face different life situations, particularly with reference to the occupational system. In this country, all men work for a living, even though they might not do so of economic necessity, and the breadwinner role is a prominent aspect of being a man. For women, an occupa-

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[3] For men, the correlation (Spearman rank) between percent male and satisfaction is —.46; the correlation between percent female and satisfaction is .66. For women the correlations are —.05 and .11 respectively.

> tion is likely to have different meanings. Despite large increases in the number of women in the labor force, most women are not involved in the occupational system in the same ways that most men are. Given the biological factor of maternity and the social factor of responsibility for child-rearing, the occupational role for most women is a contingent rather than a dominant role: they will work *if* they do not marry, *until* they have children, *when* the children are all of school age, *if* there is a suitable job available, etc.[4]

To the extent that this is true, we might expect men and women to have different occupational values. Thus, the occupational role tends to have less importance for women than for men, and it might be expected that women would have somewhat different occupational values.

This general description of the differential impact of work life is especially true in high school teaching. Drifting in and out of high school teaching is much more characteristic of women than of men. Various examinations of the occupational intentions of high school teachers indicate that about three-fourths of the women plan to leave teaching, usually to develop a career in marriage and the home. Only about one-fourth of the male teachers indicate an intention to leave education.[5] Hence, the average male appears committed to teaching as a life-time occupation, whereas the average female is using teaching as something to do until her role as wife and mother is realized. Marriage and child-rearing is the preferred alternative to a career. The drift of women teachers, of course, may be from teacher to mother and back into teaching, but nevertheless there is evidence of the occupational persistence of men. For example, in our sample there is a higher percentage of males (65 per cent) at the long-experience level than at the short-experience level (57 per cent). Thus, while we find that in some measures male teachers appear to behave like women (for example, their perception of their role in the political process and their greater satisfaction in female-dominated courses), their occupational persistence is typically male. Also, the general dissatisfaction of males as compared to females in high school teaching is not an especially unique characteristic of the occupation. Women, generally although not universally, tend to be more satisfied with their jobs.[6] The general satisfaction of females might be a result of the contingent nature of their commitment to an occupation. If the occupation is not central to their overall life style, they would make fewer demands upon the occupation and find satisfaction from other sources.

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[4] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 102. See also National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, 35 (1957), p. 17 and R. G. Kuhlen and G. H. Johnson, "Changes in Goals with Increasing Adult Age," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 16 (February, 1952), pp. 1-4.

Masculine and feminine values

On the question of commitment to a career, male and female teachers are typical of the general population. However, we have found that male teachers do have some characteristics more typical of women. Some useful research along these lines has been conducted by Ward Mason.[7] He compared the values of beginning teachers with the values of a random sample of college students. Values are classified according to whether they are "people-oriented" or oriented toward "extrinsic rewards." People-oriented values (such as working with people and being helpful to others) are described as "feminine," whereas extrinsic reward values (such as status and prestige, a secure future and earning a good deal of money) are described as primarily masculine. Among college students, it was found that women were far more likely to rate people-oriented values high than were men, whereas the reverse was true of the extrinsic rewards values. Among beginning teachers, however, the difference between men and women is much less. Both men and women teachers were higher than college students on people-oriented values, but the difference between the sexes is slight, primarily due to the fact that teaching recruited men who were much higher on these values than was true of the sample of college students. With regard to extrinsic values, the difference between men and women is again less in the teacher sample than the student sample. Also, beginning men teachers are far less likely to rate earning a good deal of money as highly as do the college students. Once again, therefore, the difference between men and women teachers is minimized through the recruitment of men who place a low value on a masculine item. However, the other two masculine items (status and security) result in a small difference between male and female teachers, because of the recruitment of women who score high on these masculine values.

Mason concludes that "teaching appears to attract men who, like women, generally place a relatively high value on being helpful and working with people rather than things, and relatively low value on earning a great deal of money; and it attracts women who, like men, generally tend to place a relatively high value on status and security."[8] The low ranking by men of salary considerations brings to mind our finding that job satisfaction is not very highly correlated with income among men. Mason's analysis of job satisfaction is supportive of these findings. Of twenty-three items on which teachers could indicate satisfaction, only six revealed any appreciable difference between men and women. Five of these six items dealt with questions of salary and the most extreme difference (27 per cent of the men as compared to 50 per cent of the women indicating satisfaction) occurred on the item comparing the salary of the teacher to that of other occupations open to people with the same level of education. This item, incidentally, ranked last on the scale of importance.

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[6] Lawrence Thomas, *The Occupational Structure and Education* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 199. See also Robert Hoppock, *Job Satisfaction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935).

[7] Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-78.

Occupational prestige as a source of dissatisfaction

The only item, other than those concerning salary, which produced a difference between men and women teachers concerned the attitude of the community toward teaching as an occupation. Unlike the salary items, this item ranked eleventh in importance. It may be assumed, therefore, that the prestige of the teaching profession in a community is an important source of dissatisfaction among men. Two items in our interview schedule were designed to measure the teachers' perceptions of their prestige in the community. Teachers were asked to indicate their extent of agreement or disagreement with the following statements:

(1) Teachers have as much prestige in the eyes of the community as they should; (2) Most people don't realize how important teachers are to society.

We found, as did Mason, that men are more likely to perceive of themselves as holding an unfavorable position as compared to women. Women are more likely than men to agree with the first statement and disagree with the second statement. However, while Mason's sample was limited to beginning teachers, ours includes the entire spectrum of the teaching population and thus enables us to introduce some modifications to this general conclusion. A basic modification is that the difference between the responses of men and women to these items is greatest among those with short experience and least among those with long experience. Indeed, among teachers with long teaching experience, the difference between the male and female responses is minimal. The manner in which these sex differentials are eroded by experience is similar on both items. On the first item, agreement increases among males and decreases among females. On the second item, agreement decreases among males and increases among females. In other words, male teachers become more satisfied with their status and prestige, whereas female teachers become less satisfied. If we can borrow Mason's terminology and regard satisfaction with the prestige of the teaching profession as a "feminine" characteristic, we may say that males become more feminine and females become more masculine as teaching experience increases. Indeed, among teachers with high incomes, females are more "masculine" than males (that is, they agree less with the first item and more with the second item).

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Job satisfaction and political attitudes: a hypothesis

Since we have found that high school teachers are both typical and atypical of the general population with regard to the sex-linked characteristics of their values and behavior, they provide an excellent testing group for a hypothesis which is derived from studies of occupational and industrial sociology. Everett C. Hughes has written that "a man's work is as good a clue as any to the course of his life and to his social being and identity."[9] We have found that male high school teachers, no matter what other characteristics they may exhibit, are typically masculine with regard to their approach to work. Since the work life of male teachers appears to be less of a contingent role than is true of women teachers, we hypothesize the following relationship: *job satisfaction is a more reliable clue to the perceptions and values of men than it is of women.* If this is true, there should be no relationship between job satisfaction and values among women, and a clear relationship between job satisfaction and values among men. We will test this hypothesis by examining the measures discussed in the earlier chapters, political and personal conservatism, educational philosophy and perceptions of the political and social world.

Considering first political conservatism, we see that the hypothesis is supported rather convincingly (Table 3-1) On three measures of conservatism, there is a more or less "linear" relationship between job satisfaction and political values among men. Those who are most satisfied with their jobs are the least conservative, and are the lowest scorers on the Protestant Ethic and Morality and Patriotism scales. Thus, the relationship is clear. The greater the dissatisfaction with

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[9] Everett C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (New York: The Free Press, 1958), p. 7.

Table 3-1/ Job Satisfaction and Political Values, by Sex.

Attitude toward Job	% Conservative	% "High" Protestant Ethic	% "High" Morality and Patriotism	N*
Certainly would begin teaching again				
Males	28	29	29	153
Females	39	27	19	169
Probably would begin teaching again				
Males	31	29	31	183
Females	38	41	37	97
Chances about even				
Males	34	32	34	75
Females	48	20	24	29
Probably or certainly would not begin teaching again				
Males	39	42	44	74
Females	15	0	14	20

* N will be the base for all tables in this chapter and will not be repeated.

work life, the higher the conservatism of men.[10] Among women, the relationships are almost random. Notice, however, that contrary to men, job dissatisfaction among women seems to *reduce* conservatism. Thus, considering only the extreme ends of the satisfaction continuum, the observed relationships among men are exactly the reverse for women. Disregarding the extremes, however, we may say that knowing whether or not a man is dissatisfied with his job is important in helping us to understand his political ideology, but that knowing the job satisfaction of women teachers is not so important a clue. The irritations and frustrations of unsatisfying work appear to be—at least so far as overt ideology is concerned—capable of spilling-over into the political world of men. This "spill-over" can also be observed in voting behavior. Among men, the vote for Barry Goldwater increased in proportion to the decrease in job satisfaction, leaving a percentage differential of 14 points between the most and least satisfied groups. Among women, there is absolutely no relationship.[11]

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[10] Cf. Lewis Lipstiz, "Work Life and Political Attitudes," *American Political Science Review*, 58 (December, 1964), p. 956.

[11] Thirty-seven per cent of the unsatisfied males, as compared with 23 per cent of the satisfied males, voted for Goldwater. Thirty per cent of the unsatisfied females compared with 29 per cent of the satisfied females, voted for Goldwater.

The clarity of the relationship between job satisfaction and political ideology is not entirely characteristic of other measures of conservatism. Concerning the opposition-to-change scale, the general conclusions noted up to this point are supported with some modifications. Among men, opposition to change remains constant at the higher levels of satisfaction (30 per cent of the men who are certain or probable that they would begin teaching again are opposed to change). The greatest opposition to change among men is found among those who consider that the chances are about even that they would begin a teaching career (47 per cent). Opposition to change declines from this high down to 39 per cent among the men who are certain or probable that they would not be teachers again. Thus, although the relationship is not linear, it is still true that the less satisfied males are the most opposed to change. Among females, there is only a very slight change in opposition to change among the various classifications of job satisfaction.

With regard to need for respect, high need for respect is once again random for women. For men a very curious pattern develops. Need for respect remains stable at around 32 per cent until one gets to the least satisfied category. At this point, need for respect is nearly doubled (56 per cent of the men who would certainly or probably not become teachers have a high need for respect). In general, therefore, we can say that job satisfaction enables us to understand more about the personal conservatism of men than of women, although the relationship is not as perfect as is the case with overt ideology. This is especially noticeable concerning need for respect. Here one has to wait until one encounters the most extreme dissatisfaction before noticing any change, but once extreme dissatisfaction is encountered the change and need for respect is dramatic.

If we examine the relationship between job satisfaction and the various perceptions of the political and social world discussed previously (alienation, political cynicism and trust in others), we find once again that among men the linearity of the relationship is clearest. There is a direct adverse relationship between political cynicism and job satisfaction, and the percentage of males who have a high trust in others decreases as job declines. (Table 3-2) The political alienation scale is not so perfectly linear, since the greatest alienation occurs among those men who indicate that the chances are about even that they would begin teaching again. Also, the alienation of those who probably would begin teaching again and those who probably or certainly would not begin teaching again is the same. Never-

Table 3-2/ Job Satisfaction and Perceptions of the Political and Social World, by Sex.

Attitude toward Job	% Politically Alienated	% Cynical	% "High" Trust in Others
Certainly would begin teaching again			
Males	27	28	40
Females	28	29	42
Probably would begin teaching again			
Males	37	31	33
Females	39	38	38
Chances about even			
Males	41	36	31
Females	21	24	48
Probably or certainly would not begin teaching again			
Males	37	38	29
Females	48	48	25

theless, the main thrust of the evidence is supportive of the other two scales.

For women there is a confusing pattern. Starting with those who are certain they would become teachers again and reading down the satisfaction indication, we see that in all three cases a clear linear relationship would exist, were it not for the very substantial decline in alienation and cynicism and the very substantial increase in trust in others among women who believe their chances are about even for beginning a teaching career again. These teachers are the least alienated and cynical and the most trusting. There is no immediate explanation for this disruption of linearity by these female teachers. An examination of their other characteristics does not reveal anything particularly unique. They are neither younger nor older than the other female teachers, there are no glaring dissimilarities in income, mobility, courses taught, length of time teaching, size of community or any other readily ascertainable characteristic. One is left, therefore, to speculate that factors not involved in the teaching experience led them to choose this alternative.

Whatever factors exist which contribute to the deviant behavior of this particular group of female teachers, they are totally erased when we consider the extremely dissatisfied female teachers. These teachers are more politically alienated, more cynical and less trusting than are the males. Excluding the females in the third category, the relationship between job satisfaction and perception of the political and social world is clearer among females than among males, and this is especially true for those who are most dissatisfied with their jobs. Further, if we compare the extreme categories, we may note that the difference and perception between the most and least satisfied teachers is substantially greater among females than among males. Unlike the measures of conservatism, in which we found the attitudes of dissatisfied males were the reverse of dissatisfied females, in this case we find that the direction of the relationship is identical but that it is considerably stronger among females.

The final measure of the relationship between job satisfaction and values is of particular importance, because it measures educational philosophy. The hypothesis that there is a clearer relationship between job satisfaction and values among men than among women is dependent upon the assumption that the work commitment of males is greater. If this is so, then we should find a very strong relationship between job satisfaction and values when we consider educational philosophy, for it is in this particular realm of values (those dealing with the nature of the work itself) that the stronger commitment of the male teacher should appear. However, the table indicates that this is not the case. (Table 3-3) Considering first the measure

Table 3-3/ Job Satisfaction and Educational Philosophy, by Sex.

Attitude toward Job	% Progressive	% "High" Faith in Schools
Certainly would begin teaching again		
Males	36	44
Females	37	50
Probably would begin teaching again		
Males	25	36
Females	30	46
Chances about even		
Males	25	36
Females	24	38
Probably or certainly would not begin teaching again		
Males	29	30
Females	20	27

of educational progressivism, we see that among men the pattern is somewhat clear in the predicted direction; those who are the most satisfied are the most progressive, but those who are the least satisfied are not the least progressive. The Faith in Schools scale also follows this pattern. Those who are the most satisfied have the highest faith and, in this case, those who are the least satisfied have the least faith in schools. However, there is no difference among men in the middle categories. A look at the responses of women indicates that for them there is an entirely consistent linear relationship. Consequently, the difference between the extreme categories is greater for women than it is for men.

Conclusion

On the basis of this table, therefore, we would say that job satisfaction is a better predictor of the attitudes of women than of those of men. This finding, of course, is in contrast to the behavior of men and women with regard to political ideology. The spill-over effect which we found in men does not exist for women. However, when the attitudes deal with education—a more central concern to the teacher—progressive attitudes and job satisfaction are related for both sexes. We can also learn more about the personal conservatism of men from understanding their job satisfaction, but not necessarily more about their cynicism and alienation. Consequently, the hypothesis with which we begin this discussion is not clearly proven. Even though men have a greater commitment to their occupation than women, the relationship between work life, ideology and perception is not as clear as we would have expected. The "masculine" characteristics of male teachers are blurred. Thus, while the teaching profession appears to recruit males with feminine values, performing the role of high school teacher may well strengthen rather than inhibit these values.

CHAPTER 4/

The Role of the Formal Organization

Formal organizations perform functions both for the society in which they exist and for the individual who belongs to them. For the society, the existence of a large number of formal organizations and a high degree of citizen involvement appear to be related. Further, political stability is encouraged by the existence of a large and well organized system of formal organizations. For the individual, the formal organization can be functional both by mediating between him and the environment (as a transmitter of information) and by representing his claims in a manner more influential (because of the addition of others) than would be true if he were operating solely on an individual basis. An interest group successfully mediates on behalf of the individual when it provides him with the influence of an organization through which to voice and subsequently satisfy his demands. The formal organization can satisfy the maintenance needs of the political system only when it satisfies the demands of its members. Interest group members must be satisfied with their organization, and consequently willing to accord to it the function of mediator, in order for the group to perform its societal function.

In this chapter we will pay particular attention to the members' perception of the organization, emphasizing (1) proper organizational goals, (2) modes of participation, (3) extent of satisfaction, and (4) the organization's influence upon the values and behavior of the participants.

Why they join

The Oregon Education Association is old, well-established and influential.[1] About three-quarters of the teachers in Oregon belong to it, and competition for the loyalties of teachers is practically nonexistent. There is a teachers' union, but very few teachers belong and it is not taken seriously by the leadership of the Oregon Education Association. In a very real sense, the OEA is the only organization available for teachers. Teachers join the Oregon Education Association, both because they think it will help them professionally and intellectually and because they believe that they are expected to join. Thirty-nine per cent of the teachers indicated that their primary motive in joining a professional association was to be exposed to professional literature and ideas, which they believed would lead to the improvement of teaching, raise the standards of the profession and make them better teachers. Twenty-one per cent joined because they were requested to join or pressured to join by the administration. This persuasion was not necessarily overt, but these teachers believed that the smart thing to do was to join up. They were probably aware of the fact that, in the evaluation forms which are used in considerations of promotion and tenure, membership in professional organizations is a criterion. So, the Oregon Education Association is, to some extent, similar to a union in that its voluntary nature is somewhat compromised.

Whereas most teachers join because they want to improve themselves professionally or because they think it is the "thing to do," very few join because they believe the Oregon Education Association can undertake effective political bargaining for them. About ten per cent of the teachers join the Oregon Education Association because they think that it will protect them from attacks, that it will provide security in the event they get into trouble with the community, that it will present a good case for teachers in the legislature, and that it will secure salary increases for them. In fact, the Oregon Education Association is a vigorously political organization, but most of the members had other advantages in mind when they joined.

The scarcity of political motives for joining the organization is not surprising, nor does it necessarily inhibit the political activities of the organization. Most people prefer to spend their time in non-political affairs, and do not concern themselves with politics as much as they do with the day-to-day problems of existing.[2] Hence, when they join an organization which performs a multitude of functions, it is to be expected that political reasons for joining will rank rather low. This would not be true, of course, of the person who joined a political party or another kind of overtly political organization. Again, the OEA is somewhat similar to a union. Although unions are persistent actors in the political process, they also perform other services for their members and many union members do not concern themselves with the political activities of their organization. Of course, the motivations which a person has for joining an organization may undergo substantial change as he becomes active or remains passive in that organization. People who join an organization for primarily non-political reasons might become highly motivated politically by the activities of that organization, if they were convinced that these political activities were relevant to their interests.[3] Thus teachers whose basic reason for joining the Oregon Education Association is to facilitate intellectual communication might become highly supportive of political activities of the Association if they were convinced that these activities were likely to strengthen professional communication.

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[1] This conclusion is based upon the fact that both legislators and lobbyists rank the OEA as an influential group in the legislature.

Nevertheless, there does appear to be a relationship between the reason a person has for joining an organization and what he expects that organization to do for him. There is a fairly strong feeling among teachers that being a member of a profession (which teachers strive so desperately to achieve) makes it necessary to develop an organization which is "above politics." There is some belief that the professional stature of the teacher will suffer if the professional organization gets involved in the rough-and-tumble world of politics, especially electoral politics. There is a considerable division of opinion as to the proper role of the association in politics. One way to dissect this difference is to note that those few teachers who indicated that they joined the organization for political reasons are far more likely to want the OEA to take an active role in the political process than are those who joined for professional reasons. The greater tendency for those who had political motivations for joining the organization to see a more active role in politics for the OEA holds, irrespective of length of time in the organization. That is to say, the relationship between reasons for joining and perception of the political role of the organization persist through time. One might expect that this relationship would diminish among teachers who have been in the organization for a considerable number of years, since their original reasons might have become blurred, but this does not appear to be the case.

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[2] Harmon Zeigler, "Interest Groups in the States," in Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines, (Eds.), *Politics in the American States* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965).

[3] Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 192. Originally published in 1959.

Excluding this highly politically-motivated minority, most of the teachers in the Oregon Education Association see only a moderate political role for it. Considered as a whole, teachers are far more supportive of "defense" activities than they are of political activities. Most teachers would agree that the OEA should exert its energies in defense of teachers who have been attacked by the community, but there is a sharp division of opinion concerning political activities. "Politics and education do not mix" is a slogan which is not entirely without some meaning for the teacher. However, the mixture is much more obnoxious in the *electoral* than in the *legislative* process. Whereas teachers are wary of their organization getting involved in campaigns (whether or not they involve a candidate and whether or not they are concerned with educational politics), they have no objection to the lobbying functions of the organization. This discrimination between electoral and legislative politics might be the result of the fact that the OEA's lobbying program is much more thoroughly developed and established than is its electoral program. Whereas it does endorse political candidates and does take sides on public issues, it does so much less often than is the case with its legislative program. The headquarters staff of the OEA has a government relations section whose responsibility is lobbying. Members receive periodic reports about the lobbying program, and tend to regard it as part of the services they can expect for the payment of dues. Whether the legitimacy of lobbying is established by the tradition or whether the OEA lobbies extensively because teachers perceive it to be legitimate, is a question which cannot be answered. At any rate, the role of the organization and the electoral process is much less firmly established. Of course, organizational goals are not established by internal forces. Rather, goal-setting is a function of both internal and external forces. Nevertheless, the *image* of the organization's purpose, as held by the members, at least contributes to the actual behavior of the organization.

Who participates?

Another aspect of a formal organization which needs to be considered is the extent of participation by the membership. The Oregon Education Association, like practically every other organization ever to come under the examination of a social scientist, is a tangible embodiment of Lord Bryce's classic description of formal organizations:

> In all assemblies and groups and organized bodies of men, from a nation down to the committee of a club, direction and decision rests in the hands of a small percentage, less and less in proportion to the larger and larger size of the body, until in a great population it becomes an infinitesimally small proportion of the whole number. This is and always has been true of all forms of government, though in different degrees.[4]

In much more succinct language, Michels observed that "who says organizations says oligarchy."[5] And, more recently, Garceau, Lipset and Truman have called our attention to the fact that the "iron law of oligarchy" is a fact of organizational life.[6] It hardly comes as any surprise, therefore, to observe that the rank and file membership of the Oregon Education Association is passive. The apathy of the average member, which is illustrated by the accompanying chart, is understandable.

Teachers, like members of other organizations such as unions, prefer to spend most of their time either with their families, their friends, or engaging in some form of recreation, relaxation, or entertainment. Most teachers, after winding up a hard day in the classroom, are simply not going to spend their time engaging in activities encouraged by their professional association. The question to be answered, therefore, is not how active teachers are, for we know that they are, as a rule, inactive. The intriguing problem is to try to discover what kinds of members of an organization derive personal satisfaction from intense activity, what kinds of people make up the "active" minority, and what the effect is of intense participation upon other attitudes and behavior. Since only a small portion of the overall mem-

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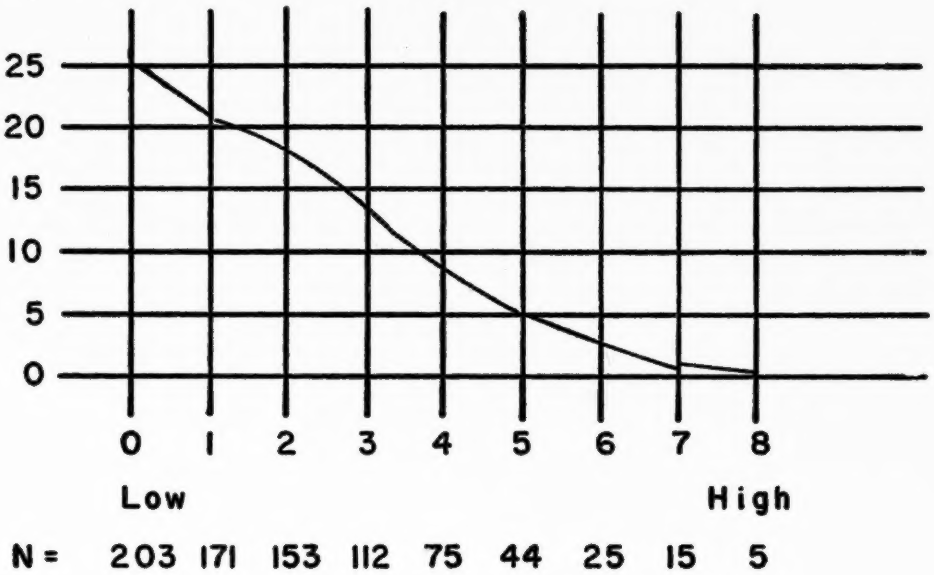
[4] James Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), Vol. 2, p. 542.

[5] Robert Michels, *Political Parties* (New York: The Free Press, 1949), p. 401. Originally published in 1911.

[6] Oliver Garceau, *The Political Life of the American Medical Association* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941); Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, *Union Democracy* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962). Originally published in 1956. David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

Chart 4-1/ Participation Rates in the Professional Association



SCORES ON PARTICIPATION INDEX
(Index based upon frequency attendance at meetings and voting in organization elections)

bership is very active, to what extent is this active minority representative of the larger, passive majority in its attitudes or its ecological makeup?

What is the meaning of participation?

A final question to be explored in this chapter is a perennial one when the subject of discussion happens to be an interest group. What is the effect of group membership upon the political values and attitudes of the members? To what extent is the membership of an interest group willing to accept its leadership on questions of public policy? Many interest groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, American Medical Association, and AFL-CIO are quite active in the electoral process, and hope that their members will be influenced by their internal propagandizing in favor of candidates or issues. It is certainly true that the organized group can be expected to have some impact upon the voting choices of its members. The effect of the organization upon attitudes and behaviors can occur both through interpersonal interactions and formal expressions of opinion (such as through magazines or bulletins), which occur in group life. On the other hand, the organization is only one of a number of competing demands upon the values and behaviors of the member. For some people, the demands of the organization will be sufficiently strong so as to outweigh all others. Other members of the organization will find "cues" in other sources, such as the family. Obviously then, some members are more vulnerable to group appeals than others. It is also likely that some kinds of appeals are more effective than others. For instance, it is probably true that *some* doctors would follow the advice of the American Medical Association on any political issue, but it is very likely that *more* doctors would respond with sympathy to the pleas of the American Medical Association if the issue was one of immediate personal concern to doctors, such as Medicare. When members fail to understand the relevance of the group's action for their well-being, they are less likely to support its position.[7] We would expect members of the Oregon Education Association to be more responsive to its appeals if they felt that their status as teachers was directly involved. On the other hand, there are members of the organization who accept the opinion of the leadership of the organization irrespective of the issue. We want to know, then, the extent to which the Oregon Education Association can induce its members to adopt a particular political posture.

In making this inquiry, we ought to be careful about the distinction between people with the same background and environment reacting in the same way notwithstanding any attempt by an organization to induce a similar response, and people taking an attitudinal position as a direct result of the overt efforts of the organization to have them do so. In some cases, the stimulus of the organization is hardly necessary to inform its clientele about the "right" position to take. As Stokes says, "Wheat farmers may respond in unison to a drop in the price of their crop, without needing a formal organization to tell them that their pocketbook nerve has been touched."[8] Yet it might be true that, whereas members of a particular occupational group are perfectly aware of the fact that they are suffering, an organization could be influential in channeling their diffuse anxiety into a specific goal. For instance, it could publicize the voting records of particular candidates, so as to make certain that the group membership was aware of who its friends and enemies were. Nevertheless, the main thrust of the evidence about the influence of organizations upon its membership is that the ability to "deliver" a vote is considerably less than they would like to believe.

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[7] Lane *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

[8] Donald E. Stokes, *Voting Research and the Businessman in Politics* (Ann Arbor: The Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1960), p. 15.

The active minority

Since we have found such significant differences between men and women concerning their approach to work, we might expect that the same sorts of differences might characterize their approach to their professional organization. This is, in fact, the case. Whereas the active minority can be dissected in many different ways, it is immediately apparent that this minority is considerably female in characteristics. Briefly, the active minority consists of female teachers who have been around a long time. For both males and females, participation in the organization increases with experience. If we use a participation index running from zero to eight as a measure of participation, tendency to score in the upper third of the index increases considerably with experience, but it increases much more so for women. About 12 per cent of the male teachers who have been in the association a long time can be classified as very active, as compared to 23 per cent of the females. For OEA members who have not been in the organization very long, participation is extremely low, both among men and women, and the difference is slight. In other words, both men and women start out with about the same rate of participation, but for women the attraction of the organization is considerably greater, thus inducing a more intense rate of interaction.

This differential impact of the organization upon men and women is not blurred when mobility or income is considered. In general, high income groups participate more than low income groups and downward mobile groups participate the least of all. But whether mobile or stationary, high income or low, the females begin to participate more as experience increases. So, a gradual portrait of the "typical" member of the active minority emerges as a female teacher with considerable experience in the organization whose income is high. As was the case when we considered job satisfaction, we wonder whether this distinction between male and female is a function of the teaching profession or a function of being a man or a woman. If it is generally true that females are more active in organizations than males, then the OEA emerges as a typical organization, whose female members are behaving typically as women should. The evidence on this point is not clear. Milbrath states, "Men are more likely than women to be active in groups."[9] However, Almond and Verba found an exception to this general rule in the United States, where female members of organizations are more likely to be active participants than are men. The measure of activity used by Almond and Verba consisted entirely of ascertaining whether or not a person had held an office in an organization. However, John C. Scott, using a measure of organizational participation similar to ours, found that women were more active than men.[10] Whereas the evidence is not overwhelming, there seems to be a presumption that, at least in the United States, there is an exception to the rule of male activity in organizations.

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[9] Lester Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), p. 135.

On the other hand, females appear to be less likely to *join* organizations than males. The difference seems to be that once they do join their activity increases at a more rapid rate. For instance, Almond and Verba found 68 per cent of the American males belonging to an organization as compared to 47 per cent of the American females. For teachers, however, this relationship is reversed. Not only do females take a more active role in the educational association, they also belong to more organizations in addition to the Oregon Education Association. About 66 per cent of the teachers belong to at least one other organization, which means that they are roughly comparable to the national sample of males interviewed for the Almond-Verba study. Seventy-five per cent of the female teachers belong to at least one other organization, which makes them more organizationally prone than male teachers and considerably more likely to join organizations than the non-teaching female.

Further, females are more likely to have multiple memberships than are males. It may be, therefore, that the intense activity of females in the Oregon Education Association is a spill-over from their more generally affiliative life. This is advanced as an explanation, because we would expect that the contingent "in and out" perception of the teaching occupation as held by females would *reduce* their organizational participation. Feminization and the resulting intermittent patterns of employment have been suggested to explain the difficulties encountered in successfully organizing the occupation. This point is explicitly made by Caplow: "Unorganizability appears both as the cause and the effect of a preponderance of women. Well-organized occupations have usually been able to prevent the entry of women. All of the conditions which put women workers at a disadvantage limit their organizability. Above all, discontinuity of employment is fatal to the development of organizational solidarity."[11] If we follow this argument, women should be less likely to participate in the organization than men. Since the reverse is true, and does not appear to be a unique aspect of teaching, it may be that the generally greater work satisfaction of women, in spite of the intermittent nature of their careers, encourages them to become active in organizations which concern themselves with the problems that count in the day-by-day performance of an occupational role. In fact, there is a clear, positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational participation. The greater the satisfaction, the greater the participation. This relationship holds for both men and women, but since women are so much more satisfied with their work, perhaps this is why they participate more.

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[10] John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations." *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 315-326.

[11] Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 246.

Yet, this explanation has its pitfalls. We noted, in a previous chapter, that small town teachers are less satisfied than metropolitan area teachers. However, it is just these small town teachers who participate actively in the organization. About 14 per cent of the small town teachers cluster toward the high end of the participation index, compared to 6 per cent of the large city teachers. Thus, the OEA attracts much more enthusiasm in the small towns, and this enthusiasm for the organization is magnified when a small town upbringing is combined with a small town teaching job. Eighteen per cent of the small town teachers who were raised in a small town are active compared to 10 per cent of the small town teachers who were raised in a big town. It seems quite clear that the professional association attracts the small town teacher, even though job satisfaction is less in these areas. However, small town women participate considerably more than small town men, and we found that there was very little difference in the job satisfaction of small town women, who were raised in small towns, as compared to the job satisfaction of women teaching in other areas.

This much more intense activity on the part of the small town teacher is somewhat out of the ordinary. It has been found, in numerous studies, that the major contribution of the urban mode of life is the substitution of secondary for primary organizations. Hence, we expect more "groupism" in large rather than small towns. However, not only do small town teachers participate more in the educational association, they also are more active in non-educational organizations and are more likely to have multiple group affiliations than are the large city teachers. Small town teachers really are "joiners," even though small town residents, in general, are not. If we examine now the characteristics of the active minority, we can add the size of the community and conclude that the typical active member of the Oregon Education Association is a small town, female teacher, who came from a small town, whose family income is high and who has been teaching a long time.

As we consider the organization in more detail, we will note that it does seem to exhibit "group characteristics," which might be described as similar to the attitudes and values held by such a person. We do not want to pursue this point too far. Obviously, we are not talking about any sort of "group mind." Indeed, the various segments of the association (administrative staff, officers, active members, and passive members) have considerably different perceptions of the proper role that the organization should play. What we are referring to here is ideology. Again, the various kinds of teachers who belong to the Oregon Education Association have different ideologies. However, if we consider only two groups—those who are members and those who are not members of the organization—we can derive an overall picture of the member of the organization as being more conservative and, at the same time, more educationally progressive than the non-member. This configuration of values conforms more or less to that which we have found to be characteristic of females. It is also true that, whereas small town teachers are far more conservative than big town teachers, they are just as educationally progressive. This is not the place to inquire about the impact of organization upon ideology, but the similarity in the values of the "amalgamated" organizational member and those of small town women is interesting.

At the same time that females are somewhat more active in the educational association, males are slightly more active in non-educational politics. The greater activity of men in political affairs occurs, however, only among teachers with high incomes and long experience in the teaching profession. At this level, 16 per cent of the males as compared to 6 per cent of the females are extremely active in politics. Yet, if we exclude, temporarily, this most active group and consider differential participation in political affairs at a more moderate level, there is absolutely no difference between males and females. All in all, the differential participation of men and women teachers in political life is not very great. We are normally accustomed to thinking of men as being more active participants in the political process. Yet we have found in previous chapters that these sex-linked roles are somewhat confused in the teaching population. Hence, it may be that women are acting more masculine and men are acting more feminine, thus reducing the difference between their rates of participation. However, Almond and Verba found that the difference between men and women, with regard to political participation, was less in the United States than in any other country.[12] Thus, too great an importance should not be attached to the socializing function of the teaching career, for it appears that the difference between the participation of men and women in general is not as great in this country as in others.

Since we have found women more active in organizational activities than men, but less active in political life, a relevant question is the participation of male and female teachers in educational politics when the community is called upon to make a decision, such as in a bond issue. Would it be true that the greater organizational participation of women would lead them into a more active political role if the issue were education, or would men, even though they are not especially involved in the activities of professional educational associations be more likely to take part in educational politics in conformity with their more general pattern of greater participation? Again, the difference between the sexes is not very great, but men teachers do participate more in community politics when the issue is education. About 32 per cent of the males have taken part in local public school issues as compared to 28 per cent of females. Getting involved in community educational politics is also a function of experience. For males, involvement increases from 25 per cent among the inexperienced teachers to 40 per cent among the experienced teachers. For females, the percentages are 23 and 34 respectively. So, whether the politics is education or not, the pattern is consistent.

The proper role of the organization

Since the organizational participation of women is greater than that of men, but the educational political participation of men is greater, we might suspect that men see themselves and their organization as more intense participants in the political process. This would mean that the participation of women in the organization is not stimulated by a desire for political gain; their motivations for participation would be essentially non-political. We know that male teachers see themselves in a more active political role than do women. In fact, the difference between the male teacher's perception of his political role and that of the woman teacher is considerably greater than the difference in the actual rates of participation between the two groups.

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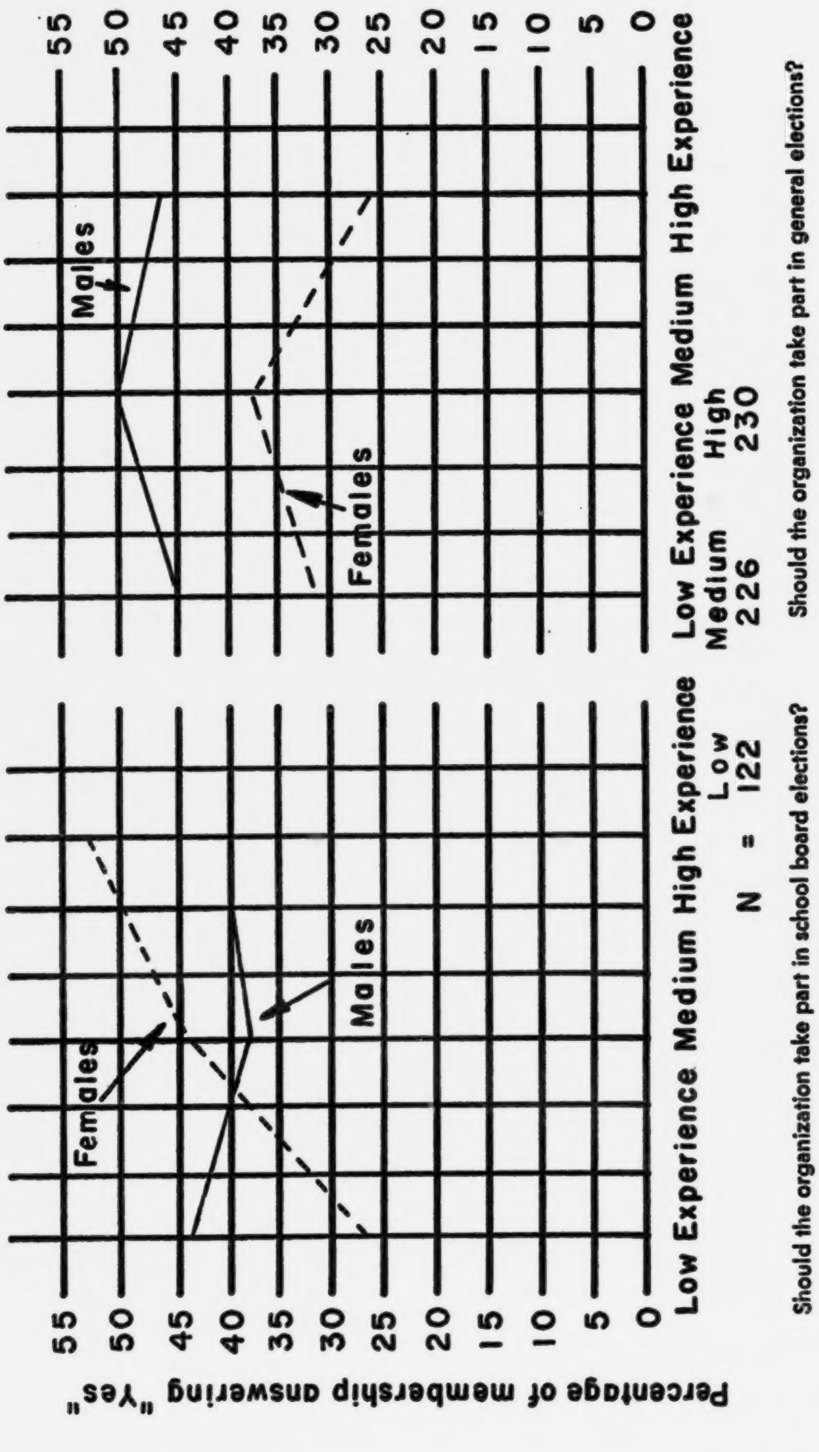
[12] Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965, p. 247. Originally published in 1963.

Good intentions are not necessarily translated into activity. Nevertheless, men look upon the political world with more favor and less hostility than do women. It apparently seems more "natural" for them to take an active role in the political process.

Now, if men have an image of themselves as individuals participating more intensely in the political process, is it also true that their image of the educational association is more "political" than the image of women? If so, then the more active participation of men in educational politics becomes understandable. Even though women take a more active organizational role, this organizational role is not necessarily political. In general, men do see the OEA as a more political organization than do women. This is especially true for politics without regard to education. For example, men would prefer the OEA to take a more active stance on various other issues than would women. However, both men and women are equally supportive of the OEA's lobbying role in the state legislature. The real difference between the "ideal" organization, as seen by men and women, can be found by contrasting perceptions of the role of the organization in educational politics and in general politics. The accompanying graph (Chart 4-2) makes the following points: (1) For men, the distinction between the desirability of the organization taking part in school elections and in general political elections is not very great. (2) For females, however, this distinction is very real. Notice that, as experience increases among females, the belief that the organization should get involved in school elections also increases, so that at the long experience level 52 per cent of the females believe the OEA should get involved in school elections, but only 26 per cent believe that it should get involved in general elections. For men, the differences between types of elections are not nearly so meaningful. (3) For men, the impact of the organization upon perceptions of its proper role is not as great as it is for women. That is to say, the relative shifts in role perception among the three experience groups are greater among women. Hence, the male "line" in the graph is straighter. (4) Women want the organization to involve itself in educational politics, while men want the organization to involve itself in general politics.

In one sense, these findings are supportive of what we have learned about participation. Since women are more involved in the organization, it is not surprising that their attitudes toward the organizational role should vary more than those of men. We expected, however, that we might be able to explain the more active participation of men in educational politics by means of their perception of the role of

Chart 4-2/ Perception of the Proper Role of the Organization in Electoral Politics, by Sex and Experience in the Organization.



the educational organization in educational politics. However, since women are more anxious to involve the organization in educational politics than men, this explanation is not valid. What we are left with is a general picture of the female teacher looking upon educational politics as a legitimate function of the organization, while men wish the organization would extricate itself from purely educational matters and become a more pervasive force in the general political world. When we say, therefore, that men who see themselves as more active participants in the political process view their organization in a similar fashion, we must make the distinction between educational politics and the general political world. Politics and education mix more easily for women than they do for men.

The effects of participation

This brings us to a discussion of the role of the organization in political socialization. It is a well-documented fact of political life that participation in an organization, whether or not it is a political organization, stimulates an individual into political activity. In Lane's words, "... isolation tends to make a person politically apathetic. Group memberships in themselves increases political interest and activity."[13] Since we have found such marked differences in the organizational participation and perceptions of men and women, we would expect that the political socialization function of the organization is also quite dissimilar. In general, there is a clear relationship between organizational participation and general political participation, but this relationship is greater for men than for women. Although men are less likely to participate in the educational association, those that do so are also likely to participate in the general political process. For women, the stimulation to political activity as a result of organizational participation is not so great. The differences, however, are not especially large (36 per cent of the women who are active participants in the organization are also active participants in the political process as compared to 44 per cent of the men).

This socializing effect of the organization deals only with overt political participation, an area in which we have found the sex differences to be minimal. It may be suggested, therefore, that those men who do take an active role in the organization do so as part of a general pattern of intense activity. It really cannot be argued that participation in the organization "causes" general political participation. A more useful measure, therefore, of the socializing effects of the organization can be gained from examining differences in the role perceptions of passive and active members. In this case, the differences between men and women are enlightening. We know that, in general, men see themselves as serving a more legitimate political function than do women. But, the differences seem to be exaggerated because of organizational participation. For women, there is little if any relationship between organizational participation and perception of the political role of the teacher. Fifty-five per cent of the women who do not take an active role in the organization nevertheless see the active participation of the teacher in politics as a legitimate role, whereas 50 per cent of those women who are very active in the organization do so. For men, the percentage increases from 57 per cent among the low participants to 67 per cent among the high participants. Thus, we can see that it is only among the high participants that differences based upon sex are realized. This was also true of political participation. Thus, the very active male teacher can be distinguished from the very active female teacher on the basis of his political participation and his belief that the teacher should engage actively in politics. For teachers who participate in the organization very little or only moderately, there are no differences based upon sex in either participation or role orientation.

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[13] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

What is true of political participation and role perception is especially true of a particular type of role perception, which we refer to as the belief in political participation with the risk of sanctions. Teachers, like clergymen, have been subjected to an unusual amount of public scrutiny. Behavior which is perfectly acceptable for some occupations is (at least according to teachers) very risky for those whose job involves the training of youth. For example, there is a great deal of difference between joining a political party and serving as a precinct worker and joining a group such as CORE and taking part in public demonstrations or picketing. Teachers see the first type of activity as harmless and the second kind as very threatening. On the basis of responses of teachers to the desirability and possible consequences of various kinds of behavior, we have delineated those kinds of activities which teachers believe would be likely to produce sanctions on the part of either the community or the school administration. We argue that there is an essential difference between the belief that the teachers should participate in politics when it involves nothing more than wearing buttons, going to meetings, and working for candidates, and a belief that a teacher should participate in politics when it involves forms of participation more extreme than can necessarily be expected to be tolerated by the community. It is not surprising that, in general, far fewer teachers believe that the teacher should engage in sanction-inducing behavior. Whereas 58 per cent of the sample scored high on the role of the teacher in politics index, only 20 per cent was high on the role of teacher in sanction-producing activities index.[14] Thus, there is a rather clear relationship between what is perceived as proper behavior and what is perceived as threatening behavior.

What about the role of the organization in contributing to the willingness of the teacher to take part in risky political activities? The pattern, as described so far, holds true also in this case. For teachers who are either active or moderate participants in the organization, there is practically no difference between males and females. However, among the high participants 26 per cent of the men score high on the political participation with risk of sanctions index as compared with 13 per cent of the females. Actually, females who are not active in the organization are inclined to score higher than those who are active, while the reverse is true for men. Thus, one could not argue that participation in an organization contributes to a feeling that one should express oneself even though the consequences of such expression might be severe. It is appropriate to describe the organizationally-active male as highly expressive and the organizationally-active female as very quiescent, whether this expression involves "safe" political activity, risky political activity, or even expression of opinions in the classroom.

If we consider all these possible methods of expressing oneself in a general overall index of political expression, a strikingly different behavior of the active male and the active female becomes apparent. Thirty per cent of the active males are extremely expressive as compared with 10 per cent of the active females.[15] The evidence is quite clear in suggesting then, that the kind of male teacher who participates in the Oregon Education Association is substantially different from his female counterpart. One is tempted to assume that active participation in an organization contributes to a feeling of security and, hence, a willingness to express oneself. But, if this is the case, why should it be true for men and not true for women? An alternative expression would be that, for a male who is politically active and willing to take risks, organizational participation comes naturally and that it is not the participation which produces the expressive role orientation. Still, if one is interested simply in describing patterns, the contrast between active males and active females is real and vivid.

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[14] The index was constructed by assigning a respondent one point for each positive response he gave concerning the propriety of various modes of participation. Typical of the political participation index are such items as joining a political party or serving as a precinct worker. Typical of the index measuring the desire to participate with risk of sanctions are such items as public criticism of local officials and participation in CORE demonstrations.

[15] This index was constructed by assigning points depending upon the number of positive responses recorded in each of the indices discussed above plus an index measuring desire to express oneself politically in class.

The problem we are wrestling with is a tricky one, for we would like to be able to establish the impact or organizational participation upon the image of the self in politics. We would like to be able to say that active males find something in the organization that active females do not find, and that as a consequence of their participation they behave differently. It is more likely, however, that the expressive nature of the active male is a product more of a more general personality structure; because he is expressive he takes an active role in the organization. To argue the reverse (because he is active in the organization he is expressive) we would need to know something about the way teachers look upon the organization as a goal-satisfying mechanism.

We have discussed organizational participation and perception of organizational goals. We have not, as yet, mentioned another aspect of the interaction of the individual and the organization—the extent to which the participant is pleased with the results of his participation. Simon's description of organization equilibrium is especially relevant here. He argues that individuals are induced to participate in an organization when their activity contributes to their own personal goals. Participation is, then, a payment by the individual to the organization in return for "inducements" that the organization can offer.[16] Since we have found females to be more active participants, we assume that the inducements to organizational participation are greater for them than for men and hence that women are more satisfied, in general, with the organization. If this is true, the socializing effect of the organization upon the active male probably would be minimal. Let us turn, therefore, to a discussion of the degree to which the members of the organization are satisfied with the course that the organization is taking.

We have noted the expressive nature of the active male. When we speak of participation in the organization we have referred only to formal participation by means of attending meetings and voting.

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[16] Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), pp. 16-18, 110-112.

There is another kind of informal participation which might be of greater importance. We refer to personal contact between the leaders and the led. Among the passive membership and the moderately active members, women are more likely to have engaged in personal contact with leaders of the organization. However, among active members men have considerably more personal contact with leaders than do women. This means, in all probability, that the officers of the organization engage in personal communication with more men than women. Although women are more active, the active men are, in a sense, more in contact with the leaders. They extend their activity beyond the formal process of participation. Further evidence of this more intense activity can be noted. Female teachers indicated that the personal contact they had encountered was not initiated by them. Males appear far more frequently as initiators of communication; they tend to seek out the leadership of the organization. The female functions as the receiver of the communication.

The extent of satisfaction

The fact that males initiate more communication gives us a clue to their satisfaction with the organization. People initiate communication when they have something to gripe about.[17] We found a definite relationship between the initiation of contact with the organizational leadership and general dissatisfaction with organizational performance. This, of course, is characteristic of men. Women seem to find the Oregon Education Association extremely compatible with their values. Among both men and women, tendency to agree with the goals of the organization increases with activity. About 40 per cent of the inactive members found themselves always or often in agreement with OEA goals. These percentages jump to 78 for the men and an almost unbelievable 97 for the women. Hence, active men find much more to disagree with.

Agreement with overall policy is important and probably colors other kinds of responses, yet there are many ways to measure extent of satisfaction with an organization. One way is to examine the attitudes of the members toward their influence and the overall structure of power in the organization. We are concerned with the ordinary member's *perception* of his or her influence. This does not necessarily mean that these perceptions are accurate. A belief that one is influential in an organization is certainly not equivalent to the actual exercising of influence. A member may believe that he has tremendous influence in the organization and be actually quite impotent. On the other hand, a member may believe that all decisions in the organization are made without concern for his needs and again be incorrect. Thus, while perception of influence does not reflect the actual distribution of influence, it does give us an impression of the attitudinal basis for organizational participation. Those who feel they have the most influence are probably likely to take a more active role than those who feel that their influence is very circumscribed.

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[17] Raymond A. Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter, *American Business and Public Policy* (New York: The Atherton Press, 1963), pp. 196-223.

It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that women who are more active participants also feel more powerful within the organization. One source of this power is the trust that they place in the elected leadership of the educational association. Among both men and women, trust of leadership increases considerably with experience, but again women come out much more trusting than men. Women are inclined to believe that the leadership of the organization would "understand" their problem if they approached the leadership. Men, while they share this opinion to some degree, are more likely to believe that the leadership would listen politely but not really care very much.

Interestingly enough, the perception of women that the OEA leadership is "on their side" is translated into an objective evaluation of the actual performance of the organization. To illustrate, we asked two questions dealing with the performance of the organization in achieving salary increases for teachers. One of the questions was phrased in such a manner as to allow the respondent to evaluate the influence of the organization in achieving salary increases. The question, then, involved the members' evaluations of the success of the organization in negotiating with the external world. About one-third of the male teachers as compared with 55 per cent of the female teachers attributed very great influence to the organization. Again, this influence attribution increases with activity, but among active males only 50 per cent attribute influence to the organization whereas 83 per cent of the females do so. Thus, we see that the organizationally active women not only view the leadership as sympathetic to them, they see it as very influential politically. Men see the leadership as relatively impotent.

Still another way of determining attitudes toward organizational leadership is to inquire about the efforts of the organization. It may be that whereas men do not think the OEA is a very politically influential organization, they at least think it is doing what it can. To some extent this is correct. Forty-eight per cent of the men think that the OEA is currently doing the best it can with regard to increasing salaries. Again, however, women are much more satisfied, as 69 per cent of the women have this attitude. In the active group, 55 per cent of the men as compared to 90 per cent of the women believe that the organization is doing enough about salaries.

This presents us with an interesting correlation between subjective satisfaction with the organization and the perceived behavior of the organization. We suggest that the extent to which a person assigns credibility to a source governs to some extent the way that person believes the source is actually performing its job. This illustration of selective perception can be extended beyond the somewhat hypothetical and vague nature of a question dealing with whether or not the organization is doing enough to increase salaries. Let us turn to an explicit example of perceptual distortions. The teachers were asked if they were aware of an actual instance in which a teacher was attacked for discussing a controversial, social, or political issue. Some strikingly different answers to this question emerge. In the first place, men appear to be considerably more aware of such attacks than women. Considering now only the active members of the organization (although the pattern is the same for the inactive members), 46 per cent of the males indicated that they had heard of such an attack as compared with only 31 per cent of the females. Apparently males are more attuned to the problems of teaching high school in a potentially hostile environment. But even more important, they see themselves as relatively helpless, at least as far as the organization is concerned. Forty-one per cent of the active males said that when the attack took place the organization either did nothing or actually went along with the attack as compared with only 14 per cent of the females. Six per cent of the males who had heard of an attack thought that the organization defended the teacher as compared with 17 per cent of the females. Thus, males are more bound up in conflict situations and are substantially more cynical about the ability or willingness of the educational organization to come to their defense.

These figures tell us nothing, of course, about the actual performance of the organization during attacks upon teachers. They do tell us something about the extent to which the members believe they can look to the organization for help. This belief could be expected to have an impact upon the expressive nature of men if it could be established that they looked upon the organization as a reference group. In fact, we have seen that men are more expressive than women even though they think that they have little defense in their professional organization. The fact that men tend to look upon their organization with more scorn than women does not decrease the expressive nature of their behavior.

The faith of women in the leadership of their organization can be seen by a table (Table 4-1) which presents the members' assessment of the distribution of influence within the organization. In a sense, this table measures the political theory of the members. There are those who believe that the leadership responds to the desires of the "average teacher." These people are, in a loose sense of the word, the pluralists of the organization. Then there are those who think that the "influential teachers" are the people to whom the leadership turns. These are the elite theorists in the organization. Next, there are those who think that the leadership is responsive more to the demands of the school administrators than of the teachers. This is a particular brand of the elite theory, which is perhaps unique to the organization and will be discussed briefly at a later point. Finally, there are those who believe that the leaders of the organization are responsive to no group other than themselves. They believe that the leadership does what it thinks best without consulting, overtly or implicitly, the desires of members of the organization.

Table 4-1/ Perception of Leadership Behavior, by Sex and Rate of Organization Participation

Rate of Participation	What the Average Teachers Want	What the Influential Teachers Want	What the Administrators Want	What They Themselves Think Best	Don't Know	N
Low						
Males	17%	21%	31%	15%	16%	364
Females	25%	18%	19%	14%	24%	225
Moderate						
Males	20%	22%	32%	14%	12%	82
Females	32%	24%	11%	18%	15%	57
High						
Males	45%	18%	13%	8%	14%	40
Females	55%	10%	7%	21%	7%	35

If we examine the table, we see that women are, in general, the pluralists and the men are the elitists. Women see the average teacher as being the major reference group for the leadership, whereas men, except for the most active group (a minority of the men), do not believe that the average teacher is the reference group for the leadership. Men tend to believe that "influential" teachers and especially administrators have more to say than does the average teacher.

The question of administrators dominating the organization is particularly acute. In any organization, cohesion is maximized as the homogeneity of the group increases. If one seeks out the reasons for a breakdown of cohesion in organizations, the most frequently encountered probable cause is a conflict between intragroup elements whose identification with the overall category around which the group is organized is challenged by a sub-occupational identification. For example, within the American Medical Association, those who teach medicine or are attached to foundations and universities in research capacities are frequently arrayed against the practicing physicians.[18] Thus, the greater the population which the organization attempts to embrace within its membership, the more likely that it will fall prey to internal conflict and dissension.[19] Within every group the shared attitudes, which form the basis for group activity, can be cut into smaller patterns of attitudes. Attempts to develop a large organization including all possible segments of an occupation run the risk of increasing heterogeneity and, hence, conflict.

The Oregon Education Association is not unaware of this problem. One of its publications states that the organization "... unites all educators. The role of the classroom teacher and of the administrator have equal impact, every subject matter at every level of education receives equal respect."[20] Further, within the organization there is a department of classroom teachers and various departments which provide sub-organizations for administrators. By emphasizing unity and by providing organizational devices for the control of conflict, the natural divisions between occupational categories might be reduced. Nevertheless, we can see that for the male teacher the problem of administrative dominance is very real.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the table is the distribution of those teachers who believe that the OEA leaders do what they themselves think best. In preparing this question it was assumed that this was an "alienated" alternative. That is, we reasoned that teachers who chose this alternative rather than indicating that they believe that the leadership is what the average teacher thought best were indicating some dissatisfaction with the organization. For men this does seem to be the case because the percentage of teachers choosing this alternative decreases as activity increases. However, for women just the opposite sort of a pattern develops—as activity increases, the percentage of teachers choosing this alternative also increases. Since women are so much more satisfied with the organization than men, we can only assume that for them this is *not* an alienated response. Women teachers apparently find the idea of the leaders operating entirely on their own not as displeasing as do men. The female teachers, who are the most satisfied with the organization, are the most likely to choose this alternative. They apparently approve of the idea of a leadership which is not responsible to the desires of the members. This reflects a generally docile attitude on the part of women. Either they do not expect as much democracy within an organization as do men or they have so much confidence in their leadership that they believe that it can provide virtual representation without the necessity for actual representation.

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[18] Harmon Zeigler, *Interest Groups in American Society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 206-210.

[19] Phillip Monypenny, "Political Science and the Study of Groups: Notes to Guide a Research Project," *Western Political Quarterly*, 7, (June, 1954), p. 197.

[20] *Guide to OEA-NEA* (Portland: Oregon Education Association, n.d.), pp. 3-4.

We noted also that females were not as caught-up in the conflict of community controversy as were males. At this point we did not offer an opinion as to who was "right" or "wrong" about the behavior of the organization. What mattered was what the members *thought* was going on. We were curious as to the extent to which the members are actually aware of the "real world" of the organization. For this purpose we selected a policy issue on which the position of the organization is clear. The OEA is in favor of a state sales tax with the revenues going to public education. In spite of the fact that men take a less active role in the organization, and this includes reading less organizational literature, about one-third of them were able to identify the position of the organization on the sales tax. This contrasts with the 15 per cent of the women who were able to do so. Even among the most active members about twice as many men were able to give the "correct" answer. Also, more men than women are aware of the lobbying and electoral activity of the organization. It seems clear, therefore, that although women are satisfied and docile, they are not especially well-informed about the activities of the organization. This is a curious relationship, for common sense would lead one to presume that the most active and satisfied members are the best informed of the behavior of the organization. Why is it, then, that this is not true? Perhaps here we have encountered a typically feminine behavior pattern. We suspect that this is the case, because we can examine behavior in the organization as a function of other independent variables and find that the expected pattern holds.

Consider, for example, size of town as an independent variable. We have already noted that small town teachers are more active in the organization than teachers in large towns. In many other ways the behavior of small town teachers is similar to that of women teachers. For example, they participate less in general politics. More teachers in large cities take part in political activities, other than educational politics, than those in small towns. Further, the small town teachers' perceptions of their role in the political process is much more restrained than that of the large town teachers. Big cities produce "political" orientations. It is, of course, generally true that small town people participate less in the political process than people living in metropolitan areas, because of the tension and heterogeneity of urban life. To illustrate, teachers in small towns talk about politics in class far less than do the teachers in large cities. Nevertheless, these small town teachers do take just as active a part in public school politics as do the large town teachers. Presumably, then, politics becomes especially suited to an occupational group when the values upon which the group is founded are questioned.

Perhaps any small town group could exhibit similar behavior. That is to say, small town doctors are probably less active in politics than big town doctors, but on the question of Medicare they might become equally as active. Here the pattern of behavior which we observed in women teachers no longer holds, for we found that even in educational politics women are less likely than men to become active participants. However, the activity of small town teachers in educational politics does not contribute to any increased interaction with organizational leaders; personal contact with OEA leaders is considerably less in small towns. The pattern of small town participation is, therefore, structured along formal lines. In spite of the formality of participation, satisfaction with the organization is considerably greater in the small town. Even though small town teachers are more generally cynical about political and social life, they are much happier within the organization. Sixty-eight per cent of these teachers, as compared to 43 per cent of the large city teachers, declare themselves to be in agreement with the policies of the organization. Their general cynicism does not prevent them from feeling that the organizational leadership would "do something" if they were contacted, nor does it prevent them from the perception that the organizational leadership takes into account the desires of the average teacher. On all these measures they appear much less cynical than the large city teachers. The small town teachers are considerably less likely to believe that administrators dominate the organization. About one-third of large town teachers believe this as compared to only 18 per cent of the small town teachers. Further, the small town teachers indicate their satisfaction with the influence of the organization and its present performance with regard to salaries. Up to this point, then, with the exception of their more active participation in school politics, the pattern of behavior of small town teachers is roughly comparable to that of women teachers.

The comparison can be carried further. Just as they participate less in the political process, small town teachers look with considerable distrust upon politics. Whether politics is considered as a somewhat routine activity (such as joining a party, serving as the precinct worker, or running for office), or whether politics is considered as a risky or threatening type of behavior (such as joining racial demonstrations, using the classroom as a forum for the expression of ideas, or publicly criticizing local officials), the small town teachers are reticent and restrained. They believe in keeping quiet, saying nothing and doing nothing. (However, as we shall see, more teachers in small towns would like to express conservative beliefs in class.) Like women, the general distrust of the small town teacher for the political process spills over into his perception of the proper role for the educational organization. The small town teacher seems to be far more "professional" than his large town counterpart. These teachers read the professional journals more and indicate considerably more satisfaction with these journals and with teachers' organizations. They clearly want the teachers' organization to stay out of politics as much as possible. They do not want it to endorse candidates, whether these candidates are concerned with educational policies or not. The endorsing of candidates in school elections is especially obnoxious for the small town teachers. This was, of course, not true for women who found this kind of activity more compatible with their values than the engaging of the organization in general politics. On the other hand, their perception of the actual behavior of the organization is typical of the pattern described in women. Twenty-six per cent of the small town teachers believe that the OEA does endorse candidates as compared with 52 per cent of the large city teachers. Thus, facts and values becomes blurred and the perception of what *is* is colored by the belief in what *ought* to be. (It is, however, true that the OEA is somewhat more active in the electoral process in the metropolitan areas.)

With these minor variations, the small town teachers appear very much like women with regard to their performance in the organization. The real difference occurs with regard to their knowledge of the actual behavior of the Oregon Education Association. Small town teachers are far more likely than large town teachers to correctly identify the position of the organization on the sales tax. Thus, in their case, accurate information follows naturally from more active participation, a situation which is exactly the reverse of what we found to characterize female teachers. We suggest, therefore, that it is a normal course of events for active participants in an organization to have accurate information about the behavior of the organization.

There are other areas in which the behavior of women appears to be somewhat deviant. These areas are the holding of positions of formal leadership in the organization and the willingness to follow the suggestions of the organization in political matters. Leadership in the Oregon Education Association is reserved to about 11 per cent of the members. One must offer some qualifying comments about the structure of the organization. The state organization is divided into local organizations which hold charters from the main body. In these local organizations, leadership positions are much easier to acquire, so that about a third of the teachers have held local office. Although chartered by the state organization, the local teachers' organizations are considerably more popular with teachers, perhaps because they are the "grass-roots" organizations. There is less tendency to regard them as being dominated by the administration and more of a belief that the average member is the most influential segment of these local organizations. About one-third of the teachers have held leadership positions in these locals. In both the state organization and the local organization, holding leadership is largely a function of experience. However, the local organization recruits leadership much more quickly from the inexperienced teachers than does the state. For example, about 19 per cent of the teachers who have taught less than two years have held leadership in the local as compared to less than 1 per cent in the state organization. Thirty-eight per cent of those who have taught between three and eight years have been officers of the local organization as compared to 9 per cent who have held state positions. Finally, 57 per cent of those who have taught nine years or more have held positions within the local organization as compared to 24 per cent who have held office in the state organization.

The leaders

However, although women participate more in both kinds of organizations, they do not dominate the leadership structure. The leaders are more likely to come from the male segment of the population than from the female. One would presume that the most active members are most likely to be recruited into the leadership structure, but this is not the case. It is true that the leadership is more likely to come from small towns than big ones. Thus, in this case, more active teachers do become elected to leadership positions. We would argue, therefore, that even though women are more active in the organization, there is some factor which reduces the probability of their achieving leadership positions. This factor is likely to be the typical prejudice against allowing women to hold positions of authority over men. We know that male teachers are reluctant to work under female principals and, as a general rule, organizations function best when women are placed in positions of authority only over other women.[21] Thus, although 90 per cent of the elementary teachers are women, less than half of the elementary principals are women. We suspect, therefore, that men exercise their voting privilege to keep women away from authority positions.

Organizational influence

The final aspect of the organization to be considered is the extent to which it can exercise an influence over the values and beliefs of its members. Here there are two attitudinal variables which should give us some clue as to the members who are most susceptible to organizational appeals. We would presume that those who trust the source of the advice would be likely to follow this advice. It is a well-documented fact of communications research that the source of the communication is a crucial ingredient in its persuasive ability. As Klapper says,

> The source of communication, or, to be more exact, the source as conceived by the audience, has been shown to influence the persuasive efficacy of the communication itself. In general, sources which the audience holds in low esteem appear to constitute at least a temporary handicap. The possible bases of such esteem are perhaps infinitely variable. Audiences have been shown, for example, to respond particularly well to specific sources because they consider them of high prestige, highly cred-

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[21] Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 248.

> ible, expert, trustworthy, close to themselves, or just plain likeable.[22]

Accordingly, we should expect that small town teachers and women should be more likely to follow the dictates of the organization than large town teachers and men. We should also expect that leaders of the organization (who are, as expected, much more satisfied with the organization than non-leaders) would be more likely to follow its lead.

Another factor which should contribute to the impact of the organization upon its membership is the extent to which its membership sees the purpose of the organization as political. Those who believe that the organization should not engage in politics would be less likely to follow its suggestions than those who think its proper function is the political process. We would expect, therefore, a relationship between an individual's perception of the political role of the organization and his willingness to follow its advice. Unfortunately, the issues are not exactly clear cut, for we find certain contradictory elements present. Consider, for example, small town teachers who attribute great prestige to the organization and hence should follow its advice, yet who assign to it a relatively low political function and hence would be disinclined to follow its advice.

Further, the effect of the organization upon certain kinds of values is sometimes quite subtle. On the one hand, there is the willingness of the member to follow the explicit political suggestion of the organization—for example, its endorsement of a candidate. On the other hand, there is the question of the extent to which the member comes to share the political philosophy as expressed by the organization's leadership and its publications. How can we determine whether or not activity in the organization predisposes a member toward a distrust of unions or whether this distrust of unions is a natural consequence of an increasing teaching experience since the most active members in the organization are those with the greater teaching experience? To explore these problems we attempted to ascertain both the extent to which members are ready to accept the suggestions of the organization with those expressed by the organization.

We want to keep in mind the influence of the extent to which the values expressed by the organization are perceived to be within the legitimate boundaries of the organization as defined by the members. Thus, we should inquire both about matters which are uniquely educational and matters which are more political. The relevance of the nature of the issue to the influence of the organization can be seen by the following graph. This graph (Chart 4-3) plots the willingness of the membership to follow the suggestions of the association on an educational issue, a general public issue, and a political candidate. Notice that on both the general public issue, and a political candidate, there is a clear relationship between what the member perceives to be the legitimate political role of the organization and his willingness to follow the lead of the organization. The stronger the political role perceived for the organization, the more likely one is to follow the suggestion of the organization if it does become active in politics. On the question of an educational issue, however, there is very little relationship between one's perception of the political role of the organization and one's willingness to follow its suggestions. Those who have a low perception of the organization's political role are more likely to follow its educational lead than its political lead. It can be seen that there is a larger clustering of people at the low end of this index. It is clear, therefore, that the actual influence of the organization is considerably greater on educational than political issues. On educational issues, however, at no time does the percentage approach fifty. So, in terms of the total number of people whom the Oregon Education Association could persuade to adopt its point of view, the impact is not very great. Only among those who see a very active role for the organization in politics is there any substantial consensus that the voice of the organization ought to be listened to. Irrespective of their perception of the political role of the organization, about 40 per cent of the members would be inclined to follow its recommendation on an educational issue. While it is true that the majority of members who see the role of the organization in politics as very active and would follow its advice, in actual numbers this also amounts to approximately 40 per cent of the total population of the organization. In this case, then, any claims made by the organization that it could "deliver" votes is of doubtful validity.

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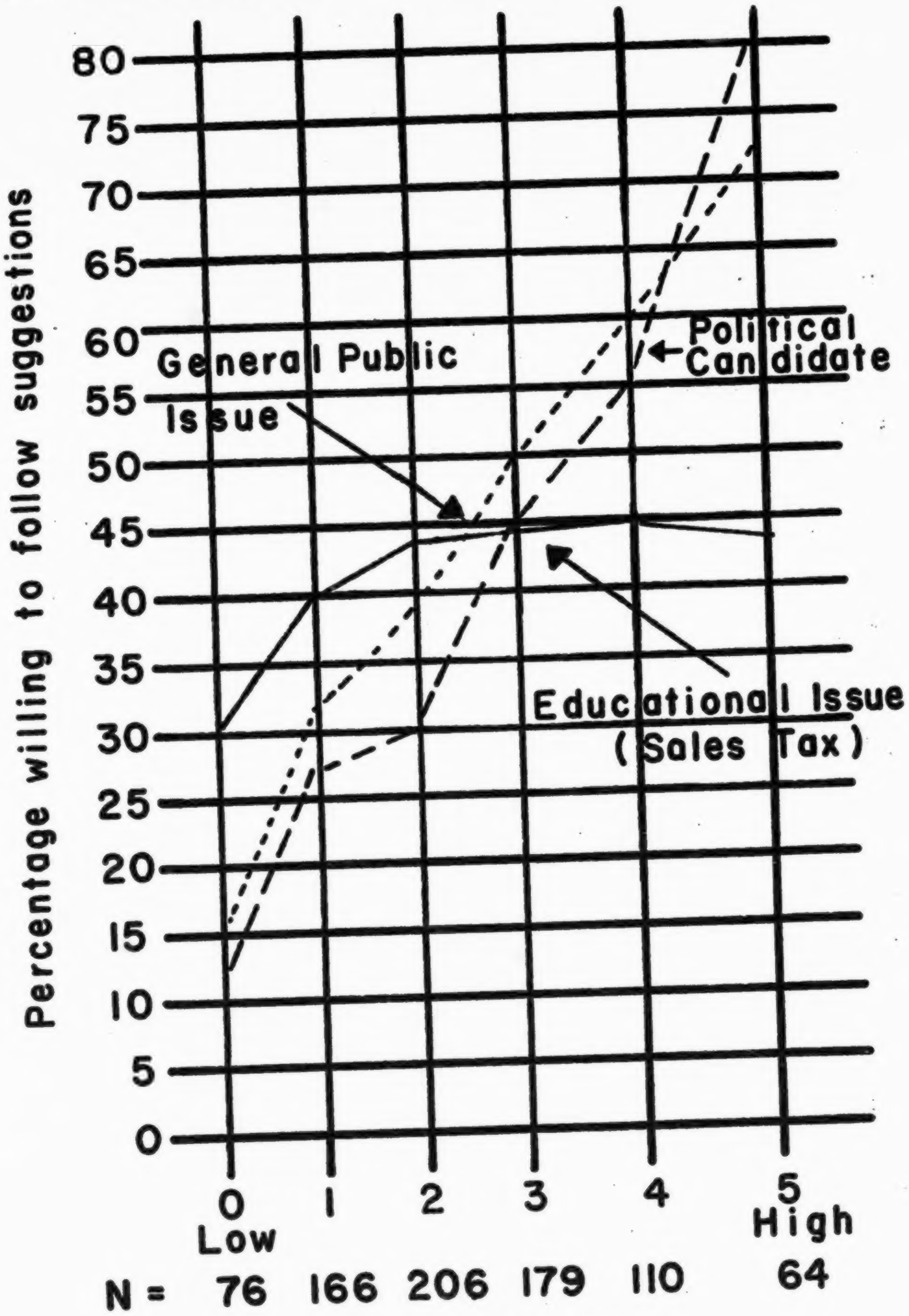
[22] Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 99.

These data tend to suggest that the best clue to the susceptibility of the member to organizational persuasion is his definition of the proper role of the organization. This conclusion is not entirely correct, however. We have seen that the small town teachers have the lowest political perception of the organization. Yet these teachers are considerably more likely than are big town teachers to follow the organization's lead, as the accompanying table (Table 4-2) indicates. Notice that the greatest tendency to follow the organization occurs

Chart 4-3/ Willingness to Follow Organization Suggestions on a Function of Perceptions of the Political Role of the Organization



Perception of the Political Role of the Organization

Table 4-2/ Willingness to Follow Organization Suggestions, by Size of Community

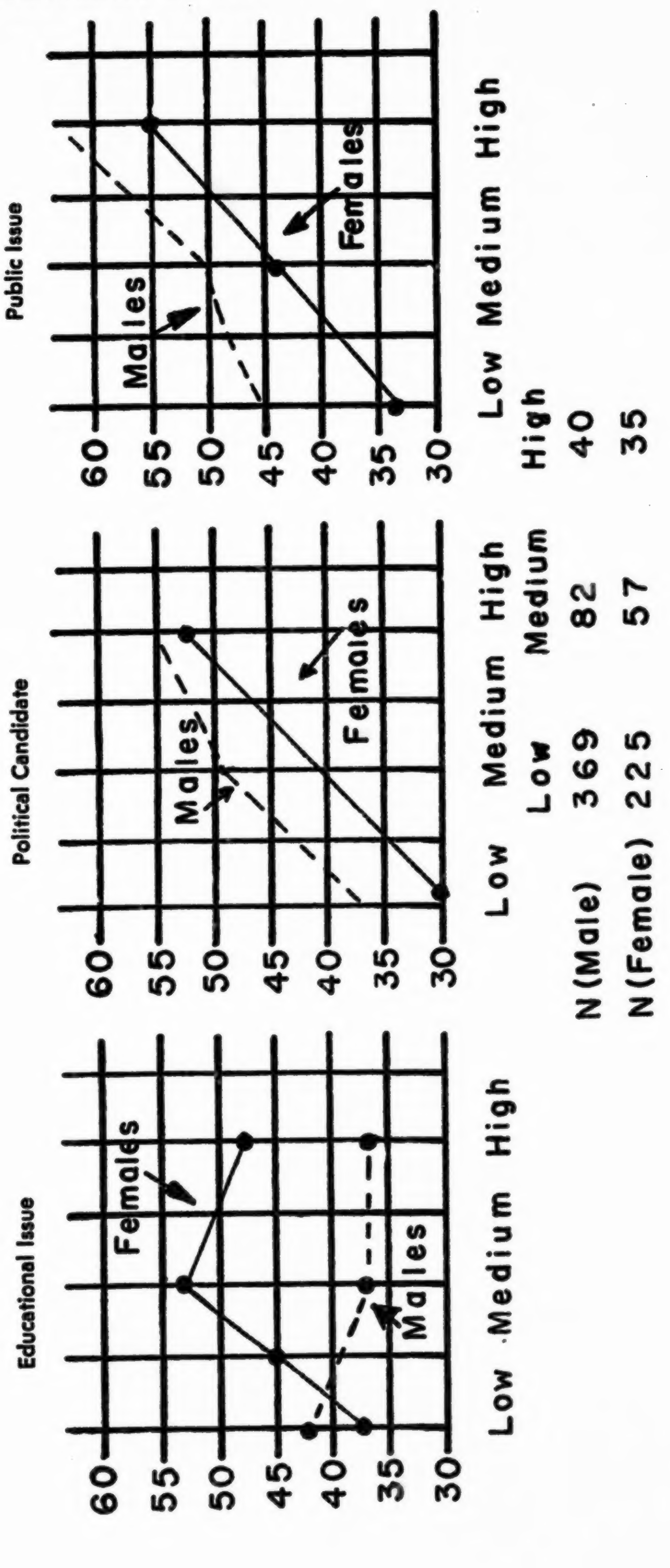
	Per Cent Who Are Willing to Follow Organization Suggestions On:			
	Educational Issue	Political Candidate	Public Issue	N
Small town	51%	47%	44%	269
Large town	27%	36%	34%	266

on the question of an educational issue. It was exactly on this kind of issue that the small town teachers expressed their greatest disinclination to have the organization involve itself.

Just the opposite kind of relationship can be found among those who have held office in the organization. Officeholders are much more inclined than are followers to see the OEA as a political organization and are also much more willing to follow its advice. The people who have held office are naturally more active in the organization, attend meetings more regularly, and talk more frequently with other officials. They are more familiar with attacks upon teachers for discussing controversial issues and are much more satisfied with the performance of the organization. For these people, the theoretical assumptions are perfect. They are active, satisfied, knowledgeable, politically-oriented, and inclined to follow the organization's position.

When we look at small town teachers, we find that all these conditions exist except for the perception of the political role of the organization. Could we say, consequently, that since these two groups do have in common the fact that they attribute very high credibility to the source of information, that this credibility of source is more important than the perception of the proper role of the organization? If this is true, willingness to accept the OEA leadership should increase with organizational participation, since this is a crucial determinant of satisfaction with the organization. In general, this is the case. However, a glance at the accompanying chart (Chart 4-4) will indicate that on political issues men are more likely to accept the leadership of the organization than are women, even though the male teachers are the most critical and least satisfied of the members. An exception to the rule is on the educational issue where, as activity increases, the willingness of females to accept the OEA leadership also increases; they are more amenable to guidance than are men. We might say then, that on questions involving the admitted and unique

Chart 4-4/ Willingness to Follow Organization Suggestions, by Activity and Sex



Educational Issue

Political Candidate

Public Issue

competence of the organization, women who are the most satisfied are the most likely to follow the lead of the organization. On political issues, however, an area of organizational life which men find more attractive than women, the most disgruntled members are the most likely to accept the political guidance of the organization.

It will be recalled that among small town teachers the greatest acceptance of OEA guidance also occurred on the question of an educational matter. We suspect, therefore, that either the perception of the proper role of the organization is a more important predictor of members susceptibility than is source credibility, or that the women teachers are being cross-pressured by another source. We would presume that the most severe cross-pressure upon the female member of the organization is from her husband. The evidence suggests that conflict over political matters between husband and wife usually results in the wife's being persuaded to accept her husband's point of view.[28] It is likely, at any rate, that the family is a more important reference group for most women than is the organization. If this is true, we should expect that single women would be more inclined to follow the position of the organization than would be true of married women. And since there are more married women than single women in the organization, this possible cross-pressure might act to reduce the influence of the organization.

There is some evidence to support this assumption, for if we examine the single women as opposed to the married women, we can make the following observations: (1) At both the inactive and moderately active levels, married women are more likely to accept the leadership of the organization than are single women. (2) At the very active level, however, the situations are reversed and single women become considerably more amenable to organizational suggestions than do married women. (3) On educational issues this difference is not very great, but on the questions of political candidates and other issues, the difference between single and married women is immense. (4) Therefore, on educational matters on which women agree the organization has a more legitimate right to speak than it does on political matters, the influence of the OEA is roughly comparable among married and single women. It is on the question of politics in which the influence of the organization becomes much more extreme among single women. Yet it is only among the very active women that the single women are more amenable to organizational persuasion. Consequently, even if we factor out the married women and examine only single ones, it is still true that (even among the most active members) men are more likely than women to accept political guidance from the organization.

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[28] Milbrath, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and sources cited therein. See also Stephen L. Wasby, "The Impact of the Family on Politics: An Essay and Review of the Literature." An E. C. Brown Trust Publication, reprinted from *The Family Life Coordinator*, January, 1966, pp. 9-11.

All in all, it is probable, therefore, that whereas credibility of source is important for political organizations, the most important determinant of the extent to which an organization can exercise persuasive influence over its members is the perception that the members have of the legitimate function of the organization. Hence, the person most likely to follow the dictates of the Oregon Education Association is a person who either accords great prestige to the source of the information, such as small town teachers, or a person who accords legitimacy to the political efforts of the organization, such as men. In both of these groups the more active a person is the more likely he is to follow the organization's suggestions. The leadership group, which meets all the criteria outlined above, is one group upon which the organization can count.[24]

Interestingly enough, whereas organizational participation contributes to influence of the organization, participation in other kinds of political activity tends to *reduce* the influence of the organization. Thus, the fact that men participate more in non-organizational politics and see themselves as more active in the political process than do women reduces the impact of the organization, although it still remains higher for them than for women. This produces a curious sort of cross-pressure—the pressure between the legitimacy of the source and the centrifugal force of other kinds of activities reducing the centrality of the organization for the male.

The same sort of centrifugal force can be observed with regard to teacher ideology. Let us consider the case of the union as an example of teacher ideology. The organization has emphasized very clearly its antagonism toward unions. It bears down hard on professionalism, emphasizes its unified nature, and criticizes the "working-class" intellectual assumptions of the union. According to its ideology, unionism destroys professionalism. Hence, unions and particularly strikes are bad for the professional image and should be discouraged.

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[24] The differences between leaders and non-leaders are not as large as one might expect, however. About 49 per cent of the leaders, considered as a group, would accept OEA guidance as compared to 40 per cent of the members. The percentage of leaders who would follow the organization's position increases dramatically with the number of years in office, so that about three-fourths of the officers with tenure of three years or more indicate they would follow the organization's advice.

Since anti-unionism is an official ideology, we would presume that those who are the most active in the organization are the most hostile toward unions. In general, this is the case, but it is also true that those who are most active in *non*-organization politics are considerably *less* hostile towards unions. Therefore, let us take the attitudes of the teachers toward unions as an example of the impact of organizational participation upon political ideology. Let us start from the proposition that the more active a person is within an organization, the more likely he is to express an opinion in conformity with the official ideology. Since activity is typical of small town teachers and women, we would presume that they are the most opposed to unions, and that men and teachers in large cities are the least opposed. This is, indeed, the case. We should also not forget that men and large town teachers are least happy with the organization and less likely to consider it a reliable source of information (although in the case of men this did not matter with regard to political recommendations).

Given these facts, there may be some relationship between participation and attitude. This relationship cannot be established, however, merely because of the fact that about twice as many active members of the organization are opposed to the idea of going on strike when compared to the inactive members. We have found that a simple increase of teaching experience, irrespective of organizational participation, also reduces the enthusiasm of the teacher toward unions and strikes. The longer one teaches, the less enthusiastic one becomes. Since organizational participation also increases with experience, might it not be the case that even if there were no organization providing anti-union sentiments, the willingness of the teacher to engage in strikes would decline? This idea can be illustrated by the readership of *Oregon Education,* the journal of the OEA. Among inexperienced teachers the differences between the attitudes of the active readers and non-readers of the official publication are not very great with regard to going on strike. About 30 per cent of the inexperienced teachers who regularly read *Oregon Education* would be willing to go on strike compared to 36 per cent of those who do not. At the experienced level, however, the differences are 17 per cent and 32 per cent. So, among readers of *Oregon Education,* inclination to go on strike declines with experience, while there is little change among non-readers. Thus, we suspect that whereas the influence of the OEA is not to be denied, the effect of this propaganda might be less than the natural process of aging. Still, there was a decline in willingness to support strikes among those who read the publications. It may be that the effect of organizational propaganda is long-term—that it takes a long time to take effect. So, if we control for teaching experience and examine the attitudes of active and inactive teachers with regard to joining unions and going on strikes, we get the following configuration.

Table 4-3/ Per Cent of Teachers Indicating They Think Teachers Should Go On Strike, by Teaching Experience and Rate of Participation

	Should	Should Not	Don't Know	N
1-5 years				
Low	36%	57%	7%	168
Medium	36%	60%	4%	77
High	23%	68%	9%	29
6-9 years				
Low	39%	57%	5%	67
Medium	33%	63%	4%	54
High	42%	47%	11%	33
10-19 years				
Low	30%	58%	12%	67
Medium	28%	64%	9%	91
High	10%	86%	4%	83
20 years or more				
Low	23%	63%	13%	30
Medium	21%	71%	8%	38
High	12%	85%	3%	65

The table (Table 4-3) indicates that the difference between active and inactive members with regard to ideology is much greater among those with long teaching experience. There does seem to be some effect of organizational activity upon ideology which is compounded by a cumulative and long-time exposure to the organization's point of view. We noted that on an educational issue, women are more susceptible to organizational appeals than men. On this, perhaps *the* educational issue, women are more likely to possess the official ideology. Among inactive teachers, about 35 per cent of the men and 27 per cent of the women believe teachers should strike. Among active teachers, the percentages are 27 and 3 respectively. So, although women are *slightly* less inclined, perhaps by nature, to approve of strikes, the gap between the sexes increases enormously as involvement in the organization increases.

So, we can say that the Oregon Education Association does socialize its members against union activity and does so rather successfully. Does it also socialize its members with regard to other kinds of organizational political activity? Does it socialize its members toward a general reticence? Or is the case of the union something unique? We shall discuss the impact of organizational behavior upon reticence in more detail in a later chapter when we deal with the expression of opinion. For now it is sufficient to say that there is no clear evidence that participation in the organization contributes to higher reticence or the reverse. At the same time that organizational participation produces this decline in sympathy toward unions, participation in other kinds of political activity *increases* inclination to be sympathetic toward unions. Further, while the impact of organizational participation upon other forms of activity, such as joining racial demonstrations and publicly criticizing local officials, is somewhat unclear, the influence of non-organizational political participation is quite clearly one of producing an overall enthusiasm for expression, whatever form it might take. Political actives, as distinguished from organizational actives, display a clear and uninterrupted pattern of expressivism.

In general, then, the influence of the organization is greatest in educational matters, particularly with regard to unions. Members of the organization also appear to be more conservative than non-members, and they are considerably more educationally progressive. Curiously enough, liberals are more likely to follow the position of the organization on political matters than are conservatives, a relationship which holds even with sex controlled. An overall assessment of the influence of the organization is, of course, difficult to make. This influence depends upon the factors outlined in this chapter—the absence of cross-pressures, the credibility of the source, and the legitimacy of the behavior of the organization.

CHAPTER 5/

Attitude Consensus and Conflict in an Interest Group:

An Assessment of Cohesion*

(Co-Author: Norman R. Luttbeg)

In America, interest groups operate within the democratic frame of reference. Like all political organizations, they are accorded more legitimacy when they can show that they are representative of the attitudes and values of a particular segment of the population. Consequently, the leadership of interest groups frequently spends a great deal of time explaining just how democratic their organization actually is. If one examines the testimony of interest group leaders at state and national legislative hearings, he is likely to find that much of this testimony is begun with an introductory statement explaining that the leadership of the testifying group is merely the voice of the membership. The personal values of the interest group leader are played down, and his function as representative (as distinguished from delegate) is exaggerated.

On the other hand, relatively few political interest groups have systematic and formalized means of ascertaining the desires of members. We know that most of the devices which are used to solicit member opinion are not very effective. Truman has shown that the affairs of most interest groups are run on a day to day basis by a fraction of the total membership. The mass of the membership takes a relatively passive role with regard to the formation of public policies by the organization.[1]

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Communication between leaders and followers is spasmodic and cannot provide efficient guidelines for the actions of leaders. Whether or not leadership of an organization seeks to become a manifestation of Michels' iron law of oligarchy, the realities of communication within an organization suggest that most of the communication undertaken by leaders will be with other members of the leadership clique rather than with the larger body of followers in the organization.

This situation is not necessarily dysfunctional for the organization. By many criteria the leader's decision is superior to that of the average member. Leaders have more time to give to matters of specific concern to the organization. The information on which they make their decisions is likely to be more extensive than that of the average member, and they are likely to be more cognizant of the long-term impact of a particular decision. Unlike the average member, however, the leader's decision is complicated by his need to consider the extragroup and intragroup impact of his various alternative decisions and actions.

In the area of extragroup considerations, he must estimate the probable responses of other actors in the political process and the affect of these responses upon the chances of achieving a desired goal, assuming that he does not possess all capabilities of realizing this goal himself. Concerning the intragroup considerations he must consider how the followers will respond to a decision. Will they be aware of this decision? Do they care about the alternatives, and if so, how will they respond to a decision which is contrary to their desires?

Even in the absence of efficient consultative mechanism, leaders and followers exist in a functional relationship.[2] That is to say, leaders are limited by the followers' expressed or latent values and expectations. Regardless of the efficiency of corrective mechanisms and apart from how extensive the violation of the followers' values must be before the corrective mechanism comes into play, the leader's position is less secure if he fails to satisfy the followers. If another leader is vying with him for the support of the followers, the implications of failing to satisfy the followers are even more threatening.

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[1] David B. Truman, *The Government Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951), pp. 129-139.

[2] William Haythorn, et al., "The Effects of Varying Combinations of Authoritarian and Equalitarian Leaders and Followers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 53 (September, 1956), pp. 210-219.

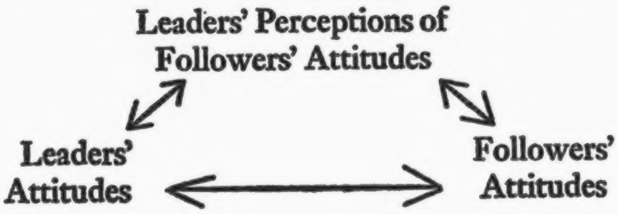
In a political interest group, the functional relationship of leaders to followers is keyed to the necessity for cohesion as a weapon in extragroup competition. The actuality or at least the appearance of unity is essential.[3]

Assuming that the leader desires to maintain an extragroup competitive position, he will therefore undertake efforts toward the fostering of intragroup cohesion. In a voluntary organization, one of the prime requisites for this cohesion is the extent to which the membership is satisfied with the performance of leaders.[4] There are three ways in which a leader may satisfy the desires of the membership of an organization. First, he may unconsciously act consistently with the desires of the membership. For example, he may decide to act on the basis of his evaluation of extragroup factors in such a way that the membership will be entirely satisfied. Second, he may respond entirely in terms of his personal attitudes and beliefs and because he so accurately reflects the attitudes of his membership, again satisfy their desires. Third, a leader may consciously seek to do what he believes the membership of the organization desires. His success in satisfying the membership by this effort is dependent upon the accurasy of his perception of attitudes and expectations of members.

The nature of this exploration

In this paper we examine the latter two dynamics by which leaders can satisfy members. The data for the study were gathered from the membership of the Oregon Education Association. Three sets of information were collected: the beliefs and attitudes of the members of the Association, the beliefs and attitudes of the leaders of the Association, and the perception of the attitudes of the members as held by the leaders. The analysis consists of comparing these three sets of information and noting changes in their interrelationships on different attitudes. The nature of the analysis is illustrated by Figure 1.

Figure 1



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[3] Truman *op. cit.* pp. 167-187.

[4] Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), pp. 110-122.

The sample of leaders includes all nine of the top administrative officials of the Oregon Education Association. These are the members of the executive staff which is employed by the Board of Trustees of the organization. Its official responsibility is to implement the policies of the Representative Council. The Representative Council consists of 200 representatives elected by local teachers' organizations. The Representative Council is the official policy-making body of the Association. However, both the Representative Council, which meets only once a year, and the Board of Trustees, which is supposed to deal with the specifics of the directives of the Council, are part-time agencies. Thus, the permanent administrative staff is often forced to act in areas in which directives are vague or nonexistent. As is frequently the case in formal organizations, therefore, the permanent administrative staff has great flexibility and is a major dilineator of policy.

In interviewing the leaders, we used a majority of the questions included in the teachers' interview schedule. Certain modifications in wording were made to allow for differences in organizational position. Leaders were first asked to answer the questions in terms of their own attitudes. They were then asked to take the point of view of the "average teacher" answering the same questions as they thought the "average teacher" would answer them. Only one of the leaders displayed any difficulty in assuming this attitude perspective. In this instance, the leader had difficulty in keeping from answering questions in terms of what the teachers *should* believe rather than what he thought they actually *did* believe. The little difficulty the leaders experienced in answering these questions is evidence that the distinction between personal attitudes and the attitudes of the membership is a meaningful one for them.

These three sets of attitudes (teachers' attitudes, leaders' attitudes, and leaders' perceptions of teachers' attitudes, are studied in four attitudinal contexts. They are:

1. Mandates for organizational action;
2. Expectations and satisfaction with the direction of leadership behavior;
3. Abstract political values;
4. Norms of teachers' political participation.

The first of these mandates for organizational action consists of two parts: expectations of behavior on the part of leaders themselves and expectations of action undertaken by teachers' organizations. In both cases, the satisfaction of the members with a particular action is dependent upon a congruence of the attitudes of the leaders with the actual attitudes of the followers.

Attitudes related to satisfaction with the direction of leadership are concerned with three of the Oregon Education Association's most strenuous activities; efforts toward salary improvement, efforts to raise teacher standards and accreditation, and efforts toward the establishment of a state sales tax with the revenues going to the public schools.

Abstract political values describe a set of attitudes, many of which are cliches often used by persons to persuade others to accept their position. They represent the basic "truths" of both the conservative and liberal points of view. A leader perceiving the membership as adhering to conservative values is ascribing conservatism to the membership and at the same time indicating that he believes an argument for action based upon these values would draw support from the membership.

The attitudes dealing with teachers' political participation concerned a broad set of politically related activities which might be undertaken by teachers in the classroom or during leisure time. The leadership's ability to satisfy members in this regard will be reflected in their efforts or lack of efforts to support teachers in trouble in their local communities for various political activities and in the formal or informal articulation of a professional ethic with respect to these activities.

Although it would be possible to analyze these data using contingency tables, the existence of 58 attitude items and three comparisons for each item would tax the ability of the reader to follow the analysis. A single measure which characterizes the relationship on each comparison of attitudes is therefore required. Although numerous measures of association and correlation were considered for this purpose, we settled upon Kendall's tau chi.[5] This measure has its faults, the principal one being that its maximum value is dependent upon the marginals of the table. Our tables frequently have marginals of 803 and 9 (the N's of our two samples). Such great differences will yield a correlation of only .044 for a perfect relationship on a 2x2 table. Since we are more interested in finding a measure to characterize the comparison of attitude distributions of leaders and followers than in using the measure as a test of statistical significance, it was decided to rely upon a new measure, tau chi over tau chi maximum.

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[5] Our data justify the use of ordinal measures of association, but there are several characteristics of our data and properties of various measures of association which complicate the choice of such a measure. First, on some of the items only two responses are possible while others are seven-point Likert scales. Thus any measure which is sensitive to the shape of the contingency table from which it is computed will decrease the comparability of the data across items. A measure which reached unity when only one cell is zero is also undesirable as instances in which the leaders are in perfect agreement while the followers differ are com-

As we are using this measure in comparing the distributions of attitudes of leaders and followers, a high correlation would indicate a strong relationship between attitudes and the person holding them. That is to say, a high correlation would indicate that leaders hold attitudes different from those of the followers. The sign of the measure will indicate the direction of this difference. Notice that a correlation of .000 indicates that leaders share the attitudes of the followers or that the two sets of attitudes compared have the same distribution.

Some may inquire of the statistical significance of the fiindings. There are two problems with the application of statistical significance tests to these data. First, one of the samples is not a sample at all but is the universe of the administrative leaders of the Oregon Education Association. Thus, with no sampling error contributed by the leadership sample the comparing of leaders' and followers' attitudes does not necessitate as strong a relationship to achieve statistical significance as would be normally required. In the data comparing leaders' attitudes and their perceptions of followers' attitudes, clearly no statistical significance tests are applicable because the differences are real differences for the universe of leaders. Even if the leaders did consist of a sample, their small number places an unnecessarily strict requirement on the strength of the relationship necessary to achieve statistical significance.[6] In general, therefore, greater reliance is placed upon the consistency of a relationship within an attitude area rather than on the statistical significance of any one item. However, those single item relationships which are significant are indicated by a small "s" in the tables (the Kruskal-Wallis h test is used to test statistical significance).

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mon in our data. Such measures would be insensitive to the degree of followers' disagreement with the leaders. The final difficulty is that some measures are sensitive to the marginals of the contingency table. No measure was discovered which did not have at least one of the characteristics. See Hubert Blalock, *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), p. 323; and Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 49 (December, 1954), p. 750.

[6] David Gold, "Some Problems in Generalizing Aggregate Associations," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 8 (December, 1964), p. 18.

Leaders' perceptions of their roles

Before comparing the three sets of attitudes contained in this study, some discussion should be made of the leaders' perceptions of their roles within the organization. We refer here to the extent to which leaders believe they should act primarily in accordance with their own personal values in contrast to believing they should try to reflect the desires of those whom they lead. We are asking whether leaders believe they should be delegates or representatives.[7]

Two questions were included in the leaders' interview schedule dealing with the problem of whose attitudes should be acted upon, those of the leaders or those of the followers. In one question the leaders were offered a brief dialogue between two persons, one arguing that a leader must do as the members wish and the other arguing that the leader must do what he personally believes to be correct. The leader was given the opportunity of selecting the argument which he found most satisfactory. Only one leader answered that the membership's desires should rule. Five answered that the leader should do what he personally believes to be right, although they added the comment that they thought the problem would occur very infrequently. Three of the leaders said that if this problem could not be resolved the leader should resign.

The second question approached the problem from a slightly different angle and achieved very dissimiliar results. The leaders were asked if they felt the organization should do pretty much what the average teacher wants, what the more influential teachers want, what the school administrators want, or what they themselves want. The "pretty much" phrase in the first alternative apparently was easier to accept than the wording in the other question, as five leaders chose this alternative. Two altered the second response to indicate that they believed they should do what the "more informed" teachers wanted while two indicated that they would prefer to do what they themselves thought best.

It would seem, therefore, that the leaders accept the maxim that they should do what the followers want, but they are also jealous of their autonomy to do what they think best. There appears to be a clear, internalized conflict between the representative and delegate roles. Obviously the best of all possible worlds for the leaders would be perfect consensus between them and the members. In the absence of this consensus, they appear unable to reach a clear resolution of the conflict and to find a stable definition of their roles.

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[7] The terms "delegate" and "representative" are borrowed from the literature on the legislative process where they are applied to the role perceptions of legislators. Heinz Eulau presents three legislative role orientations in John C. Wahlke, Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan, and LeRoy C. Ferguson, *The Legislative System* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 267-286. The "trustee" of Eulau's scheme has traditionally been described as a "delegate" while the "delegate" corresponds to "representative." These roles are more extreme, with "politicoe" falling somewhere between the two.

The leaders' acute awareness of the problem of communication with followers is indicated by a final question. Leaders were asked what policies of the Oregon Education Association they were most dissatisfied with. Seven of the leaders volunteered the answer that the greatest problem in the organization was the failure to be true to the desires of its membership. Two of the leaders who gave this response explicitly criticized the administrative structure for not administering impartially the policy decisions of the Representative Council. It appears, therefore, that the representative nature of the organization is not only meaningful to leaders but is also potentially divisive of the leadership.

Expectations concerning organizational activity

The exact nature of this potential conflict within the organization will become clearer as we proceed to the analysis of the four attitude areas. We will now concern ourselves with this analysis considering first the mandates for organizational activity.

Table 5-1 presents the correlations for each of the attitude comparisons for each of the questions. In this, as in the tables which follow, the first column presents the objective attitudes, the "real world," and thus measures the extent of actual conflict. The second column shows the degree to which leaders are accurate in their perceptions of followers' attitudes, while the third column measures the extent of conflict as *seen* by the leaders. The negative sign of the correlation means that the bottom set of attitudes is more heavily weighted in the direction of believing that leaders of the organization *should* undertake a particular action. For example, in the first column a negative sign means that the leaders believe that they or the organization should undertake a given activity more so than do the followers. In the second column the negative sign means that the leaders perceive the followers as being more in favor of undertaking a particular action than they actually are. The positive sign in the second column means that the followers are more in favor of undertaking a particular activity than the leaders believe them to be. A negative sign in the third column means that the leaders perceive the followers as more sup-

Table 5-1/ Comparison of the Three Attitude Sets in the Area of Mandate for Actions by Leaders, Teachers' Organizations, and the OEA

	Sets of Attitudes Compared		
	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Attitudes	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes	Leaders' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes
Leaders should:			
1. Fight attacks on educational principles and methods.	−.134	−.134	.000
2. Fight against dismissal of teachers.	−.073	−.073	.000
3. Defend teachers from public attacks from getting involved in controversial issues.	−.059	−.059	.000
4. Eliminate from staff political liberals.	+.284	+.061	−.222
5. Give helping hand to school board members coming up for election.	−.317(s)	+.211	+.528
Teachers' organizations should:			
6. Endorse political candidates.	−.419(s)	+.184	+.603
7. Take sides on public issues.	−.404(s)	+.221	+.625
OEA should:			
8. Endorse candidates in school elections.	−.387(s)	+.058	+.444
9. Try to influence legislation.	.000	.000	.000

portive of a particular activity than the leaders are. A positive sign in the third column indicates the reverse.

The table indicates that, with the single exception of eliminating from the OEA staff people believed to be politically extreme, the leaders are more inclined to favor the involvement of the organization in each of the actions presented. This is shown by the fact that in seven of the nine cases the signs of the first column are negative. The first three of these items are the more clearly "professional" of the set. They involve the traditional academic values of freedom of expression and the protection of teachers against hostile forces in the community. These are at best *quasi* political activities. Yet even here the followers are more restrained than are the leaders of the organization. Notice that on the question of eliminating political liberals from the OEA staff the followers are more in favor of this particular action than are the leaders. However, it is true that the greatest discrepancy between followers' attitudes and leaders' attitudes occurs on those questions involving the more purely political aspects of the organization, such as endorsing political candidates, taking sides on public issues, and taking part in the electoral activities of school board members.

With regard to these political activities, the followers are much more restrained than they are concerning more purely educational activities. Granted that the distinction between *quasi* political and political is arbitrary at best, the followers do appear able to make this distinction. Thus, they are much more inclined to support the activities of the OEA if it defends teachers against public attacks than they would be if the teachers' organization endorsed political candidates.

The glaring exception to the general reluctance of the teachers to support the political activities of the OEA is on the question of lobbying. Here there is nearly perfect agreement between leaders and followers. Lobbying is perceived by teachers to be an absolutely legitimate function of the organization. Teachers, therefore, are making a distinction between legislative politics and electoral politics.[8] The Oregon Education Association is currently engaged in a very vigorous lobbying program at the state legislative level. With regard to lobbying, it is interesting to notice that not only do the attitudes of the leaders and followers converge, but also the leaders perceive that the followers are being very supportive of their lobbying activities. This is indicated by the zero correlation in the second and third columns.

Notice also that with regard to the first three activities (fighting attack on educational principles and methods, fighting against the dismissal of teachers, and defending teachers from public attacks) the leaders see *more* support among the teachers than actually exists. Since the leaders overestimate the enthusiasm of followers, they *see* a consensus which does not hold true in the "real world." Hence the perfect correlation in the third column between the leaders' attitudes and their perceptions of teachers' attitudes is based upon faulty perceptions. This is not true with regard to the consensus about lobbying.

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[8] Cf. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1965), pp. 250-251. Originally published by Princeton University Press.

It is in the more purely electoral activities of the organization that discrepancies occur. Notice that on questions five, six, seven, and eight, the negative signs of the first columns become positive signs in the second column. This means that, whereas leaders are more likely to want to engage in the electoral activities than are followers, the leaders perceive the followers are far more hesitant than the followers actually are. Consequently, these electoral activities can be contrasted with the professional and lobbying activities. In these professional and lobbying activities, the third column indicates that the leaders see little or no discrepancy between their point of view and the point of view of the followers, whereas the correlations on items five, six, seven, and eight in the third column indicate that the leaders see a considerable conflict between their values and those of the followers. With regard to these political activities, the leaders are correct in perceiving conflict although conflict also exists in educational activities but is missed by the leaders.

At this point in its organizational history, the OEA is in fact more likely to engage in professional and lobbying activities than it is in electoral activities. It is these activities in which the leaders see the followers as being entirely supportive of the organization, although they are correct only with regard to lobbying. If the OEA were to increase its electoral activities, therefore, it would be engaging in practices which are less favored by the followers. However, the fact that the teachers are perceived as being more reluctant to support these activities than they actually are might result in the leaders engaging in these activities to a lesser extent than would be tolerated by the followers.

Evaluations of organizational performance

Turning from the extent to which leaders and followers are in agreement as to what the organization should do, we consider now the relationships between sets of attitudes concerning the extent of satisfaction with the actual behavior of the leaders of the organization. In Table 5-2 a negative sign indicates that the bottom set of attitudes is less satisfied with the performance of the teachers' organization. A positive sign indicates that the bottom set is more satisfied.

In the first analysis, we found that the leaders consistently underestimated the activism of the followers. In this table we find a similar tendency toward underevaluation with several notable exceptions.

Table 5-2/ Comparison of the Three Attitude Sets in the Areas of Expectations and Satisfaction with Leadership Actions

	Sets of Attitudes Compared		
	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Attitudes	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes	Leaders' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes
Questions			
1. How important do you think has been the role played by the OEA in getting improved salaries and benefits?	+.556(s)	+.026	—.667
2. How about the Teacher's Union; how important do you think its role was in getting improved salaries and benefits?	—.297	—.098	+.185
3. Do you think the OEA is doing enough to improve teachers' salaries and benefits?	—.332	—.444	—.111
4. How about the Teachers' Union; is it doing enough in improving teachers' salaries and benefits?	—.396	—.396	.000
5. Do you think the OEA is doing enough in its support for higher teacher standards and accreditation to improve professional status?	—.016	—.016	.000
6. Do you think there should be a state sales tax with the revenue going to the schools?	+.253	+.364	+.111

On the question of the importance of the role of the OEA in getting improved salaries and benefits in the past, we find a very great discrepancy between leaders' and followers' attitudes. In this case, the followers are inclined to give the OEA less credit than are the leaders. However, the second column shows that the perception of the leaders is accurate. Hence, they perceive followers as exhibiting more dissatisfaction with past performance than the leaders do. Leaders, intimately involved in the successes and failures of the organization, see their role as more significant than do the more passive followers. About one-third of the followers think that the OEA was "very important" in securing past benefits whereas all the leaders are of this opinion.

With regard to current performance a different situation exists. The leaders in the case are more dissatisfied with the performance of the organization and its constant fight for better salaries. Once again, however, they perceive more dissatisfaction among the ranks of the followers than actually exists. Although accurate in their perceptions of teacher satisfaction with past performance, leaders fail in their evaluation of current satisfaction. In fact, 56 per cent of the followers indicated that they thought the OEA was doing enough about salaries. This is not exactly an overwhelming vote of confidence, but it is apparent that more satisfaction exists in reality than is perceived as existing by the OEA leadership.

In view of the current conflict between teachers' unions and professional organizations for the loyalties of teachers, it is interesting to note that the leaders of the OEA are more likely to denigrate the efforts of the teachers' union than are the teachers themselves. This is indicated by the negative sign of the correlations in column one considering the role of the union in past and present efforts toward salary increases. Again column two tells us that in both of these cases leaders perceive that followers are more dissatisfied with the union than they actually are. This distinction between past and present produces some curious results in the third column, showing the extent of conflict perceived by leaders. While they exaggerate the extent of dissatisfaction on the part of followers, perhaps projecting their own desires more than an objective evaluation would indicate, they recognize that the followers are more impressed with past union performance than they (the leaders) are. Yet they persist in seeing perfect agreement between themselves and teachers concerning current union performance, an agreement which does not exist. These distortions lead the leadership to assume a "what have you done for me lately?" attitude somewhat along the lines of old fashioned bread and butter unionism. It seems likely that these perceptions will cause them to channel more of their resources into salary increase efforts at the risk of providing less satisfactory efforts in other areas. On the other hand this risk does not appear to be very great. For example, the leaders are extremely accurate in their perceptions of teacher satisfaction with regard to support for higher professional standards and accreditation. A consensual situation only slightly less ideal than that regarding lobbying exists here.

The final item in the table dealing with the question of state sales tax enables us to return once again to lobbying. We may well ask, "Lobbying for what?" The OEA has been strongly lobbying for a state sales tax with revenues going to the public schools, but only a slight majority (53 per cent) of the teachers agree that a state sales tax should be enacted, while more than two-thirds of the leadership are in favor of the tax. This is apparently an elite-derived effort enjoying only weak support from the followers. In this case, however, the leaders perceive far more support than actually exists. They actually believe that followers support this effort more than the leaders do, whereas the opposite is the true situation. Thus, although the ideal consensus in the organization is achieved on the legitimacy of lobbying, leaders do not show a very great capability of deciding how much effort should be extended in the pursuit of certain policies by means of lobbying. The leaders want a sales tax, perceive the followers as wanting a sales tax, and pursue this effort vigorously. It is possible that if the efforts to achieve a sales tax are continued for increased intensity, membership support might be reduced beyond the bare majority it enjoys now, and intragroup conflict may result. If this happens the perceptive errors of the leaders could prove costly.

Abstract political values

Up to this point we have been considering the explicit programs of the Oregon Education Association, and the extent to which there is a congruence between leaders' values and followers' values with regard to these programs. Members of organizations, however, may have values which are not directly translatable into explicit programs but which nevertheless may color the relationship between leaders and followers. The overall ideology pattern of leaders and followers is, therefore, a component in determining the extent to which leaders are representative of the values of followers. It is this assumption which leads us to inquire about abstract political values. The items in Table 5-3 are offered as important in the leaders evaluations as to what programs might appeal to the followers and also what the nature of appeals to the membership for support on a given issue might be. On the basis of their content, the items are separated into those indicating conservatism and those indicating liberalism. The first seven questions in Table 5-3 are the conservative questions, and the last six are the liberal questions. For each of these groups, a negative

Table 5-3/ Comparison of the Attitude Sets in the Area of Orthodox Values

	Sets of Attitudes Compared		
	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Attitudes	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes	Leaders' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes
Questions			
Conservative			
1. The American form of government may not be perfect, but it's the best type of government yet devised by man.	−.137	+.078	+.222
2. Democracy is considered the ideal form of government by most of the world.	−.160	−.658	−.407
3. Private enterprise could do better most of the things the government is now doing.	+.365	−.171	−.568
4. The participation of the federal government in local affairs leads to undesirable federal controls.	+.564(s)	−.389	−.926
5. Communism is a total evil.	+.142	−.466	−.630
6. People of most underdeveloped countries are by nature incapable of self-government.	+.303	−.226	−.506
7. Private enterprise is the only really workable system in the modern world capable of satisfying our economic needs.	+.257	−.182	−.469
Liberal			
8. Economic and social planning by government does not necessarily lead to dictatorship.	−.326	+.125	+.444
9. Man is the maker of his own society; such events as wars and depressions could be controlled by man.	−.122	+.161	+.259

10. The growth of large corporations makes government regulation of business necessary.	−.190	+.088	+.309
11. We could increase spending for many government services without harming the nation's economy.	−.402	+.035	+.432
12. The federal government represents the needs of most people better than local government.	−.030	+.284	+.259
13. The government should increase its activities in matters of health, retirement, wages, and old-age benefits.	−.205	−.034	+.185

sign indicates that the bottom set of attitudes shows greater acceptance of the item.

Looking at the first column, it can readily be seen that the leaders are more likely to disagree with the conservative items and more likely to agree with the liberal items than are the followers. Furthermore, the high correlations in the third column show that the leaders believe the followers to differ very greatly from them with regard to these items. Once again, however, the leaders' perceptions of teachers' attitudes tend to exaggerate the differences. In eleven of the thirteen cases, leaders perceived followers to be more conservative and less liberal than they actually are. Thus, although the leaders of the organization are a biased section of the teachers with respect to their political and economic values, they tend to perceive their atypical posture as more extreme than it actually is. This discrepancy in perception is likely to influence the leaders to use more conservative appeals to the followers in their urging support of particular programs than would be called for by an accurate inventory of their values.

Combined with the bread and butter perception described previously, this perceived conservatism of teachers would lead the leaders into the path of heavy emphasis on salaries and other basic issues while at the same time forcing them to restrict their activities in the realm of expansion of organizational activities. If the leadership sought to venture into untried areas which are not specifically related to educational problems, it might be hesitant to begin for fear that the programs are too liberal for the membership to accept.

Of course, as Krech and Crutchfield point out, the degree of association between cognitive attitudes and action-oriented attitudes is not necessarily great.[9] Thus, a person holding conservative beliefs does not automatically favor conservative actions by government. To ascertain the extent to which abstract values are translatable into immediate preferences for governmental action, we administered the items from the Survey Research Center domestic attitude scale.[10] As in the abstract value index, the leaders proved to be much more liberal than the followers. Also, the leaders saw the followers as not being as liberal as they actually are. In this case, however, the leaders are not so greatly more liberal and they do not see the followers as so greatly more conservative than they actually are. The main thrust of the conservatism scale is identical to that of the abstract political value index, but the discrepancies are not as great. It may be, therefore, that the leaders are less in danger of undercutting the cohesion of the organization should they lend its support to an explicit governmental program outside the realm of education-related issues. The danger to cohesion may be not so much in the undertaking of new programs but in the appeal to followers on the basis of their perceived conservatism.

The political role of the teacher

Teachers, like the holders of any social position, have perceptions of what is permissible behavior by holders of this social position. Others who do not hold this position also have expectations. The interaction of these two expectations constitutes a role. Table 5-4 presents the comparisons between the three sets of attitudes with regard to norms of teachers' political participation. A negative sign indicates that the bottom set of attitudes in the comparison favors teacher participation more than does the top set of attitudes.

Here, we see a remarkably consistent pattern. Leaders are in every case, save one, more supportive of actions by teachers in these areas than are the teachers. This is even true of joining a teachers' union, but it is not true of going on strikes to secure higher salaries and other

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[9] David Krech and Richard Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), p. 251.

[10] See Angus Campbell, et al., *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), pp. 194-198. V. O. Key gives the items used in this scale. See V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 561.

Table 5-4/ Comparison of the Attitude Sets in the Area of the Norms of Teachers' Political Participation

	Sets of Attitudes Compared		
	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Attitudes	Followers' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes	Leaders' Attitudes vs. Leaders' Perceptions of Followers' Attitudes
Questions			
Teachers should if they want to:			
1. Join a teachers' union.	—.135	+.532(s)	+.667
2. Go on strike to secure higher salaries and other benefits.	+.067	+.317(s)	+.250
3. Join a political party organization.	—.036	+.186	+.222
4. Serve as party precinct worker in pre-election activities.	—.064	+.269	+.333
5. Publicly criticize local government officials.	—.268	+.510(s)	+.778
6. In a presidential election, outside school time, make speeches or give other services on the behalf of a candidate.	—.110	+.335(s)	+.444
7. Run for political office.	—.104	+.451(s)	+.556
8. In a presidential election, explain to class reasons for preferring one candidate.	—.055	+.279	+.333
9. Belong to the NAACP or CORE.	—.129	+.316(s)	+.444
10. Take part in a CORE or NAACP demonstration, such as public picketing.	—.112	+.460(s)	+.571
11. Allow an atheist to address the class.	—.126	+.430(s)	+.556
12. Argue in class against the censoring of literature by people who feel it is pornographic.	—.226	+.039	+.306
13. Speak out in class against the John Birch Society and groups like it.	—.153	+.180	+.333

14. Speak in favor of nationalizing the steel industry and the railroads.	−.249	+.307	+.556
15. Speak in class in favor of the Medicare program.	−.169	+.276	+.444
16. Speak in class in favor of the United Nations.	−.043	+.291	+.333
17. Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the National Association of Manufacturers.	−.254	+.191	+.444
18. Speak in class favorably about socialism.	−.105	+.229	+.333
19. Argue in class that labor unions should be more regulated or controlled by the government.	−.158	+.176	+.333
20. Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the John Birch Society.	−.443 (s)	+.123	+.556

benefits. In this latter case, the teachers are slightly more likely than leaders to be willing to undertake this activity and are much more likely to be willing to go on strike than leaders perceive them to be. This is the single example of followers being more active than leaders in their orientations toward the liberal life. In every other case, no matter what type of action is involved, leaders are more willing to take a risk, more willing to engage in controversial activity than are followers. When we examine the leaders' perceptions of followers' attitudes, we find once again the consistent pattern of under-evaluation of the experimental nature of teachers. Leaders perceive teachers as being unlikely to engage in these activities whereas teachers themselves, although less anxious than leaders to take part in these activities, are more willing to do so than leaders believe them to be. Thus, the teachers are more willing to join teachers' unions, political party organizations, or racial organizations than leaders believe them to be. Even on such a relatively tame issue as speaking in class in favor of the United Nations, leaders perceive teachers as being reluctant.

Concluding comments

To summarize the findings of this analysis, the following points may be offered. As is true of most organizations, the leaders of the

Oregon Education Association are more active than the followers. They are more liberal than the followers and they are more willing than the followers to expand the activities of the organization, but they consistently exaggerate the atypical nature of their position. They see the followers as being much more conservative and restrained than they actually are. These discrepancies, both in perceptions and in actual attitudes, lead us to speculate as to how they came about. Is the relative activism of leaders a function of their social role, their organizational position, or their personality? It is certainly not feasible to argue that leadership positions somehow recruit people of a more daring type personality. It is more feasible to see explanations within the nature of the organization and the teaching profession. Consider, for example, the items dealing with political participation by teachers. Leaders would be subject to none of the pressures that teachers would feel from their community. Also, while teachers can recall relatively few cases in which the community made demands upon the school system for the dismissal of a teacher for engaging in controversial activity, those who can recall such incidents are of the opinion that the teachers' organization was ineffective in the defense of teachers. It is also true that the teachers look upon the local affiliates of the Oregon Education Association much more favorably than they look upon the state-wide organization which employs the leaders considered in this study. In arguing for organizational position as a fundamental contributor to differential perception, we draw added support from the reaction of the leaders to the competition of the union. Leaders behave in much the same fashion as political party leaders.[11] They are more emotionally committed to the organization than are the rank and file. Hence, they find it difficult to comprehend the problems of teaching and the restrictions traditionally imposed upon teachers by the community.

It might be useful to know something about the background of the leaders. All of the leaders have at one time been teachers and all of them have passed through some lower administrative position before achieving their present status. Most of them have taken graduate work, usually in educational administration. They all earn in excess of ten thousand dollars per year. Thus, although they do have a teaching background, they are much more upwardly mobile than the average teacher and make more money. They are also substantially better educated. The upper mobility of the leaders of the OEA can be gleaned from the backgrounds of their fathers. Most of the fathers of the OEA leaders had less than a high school education and held low status occupations. A seventh and eighth grade education is most common. In a very real sense, therefore, holding a position in the OEA marks a step up, more of a step up than is true of teaching. Perhaps, therefore, the leaders consider themselves as more sophisticated and advanced than teachers.

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[11] Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review,* 58 (June, 1964), pp. 361-382.

When we consider the fact that serving as an OEA administrator is in a sense moving *beyond* a teaching position, the explanation offered above becomes more feasible. Combine this with the fact that leaders have interaction with a more heterogeneous environment and their perception of teachers becomes even more understandable. Unlike the teachers who interact mostly with teachers, students, principals, and parents, the OEA administrative staff interacts with lobbyists, legislators, state officials, and national educational officials.

As a final alternative to the explanation offered above, we considered the possibility that, whereas the leaders incorrectly perceived the political values and political role perceptions of teachers, they might have been basing their reactions upon communication with a biased sample. There are, of course, many different shades of opinion among teachers just as there are among the general public. Is it true that the OEA leaders interacted with a segment of the teaching population which was more conservative and more restrained? If this is true, then their perceptions of followers' attitudes might not be a function of their social position but might be the result of an unrepresentative sample of opinion being communicated to them. However, our evidence indicates quite clearly that there is no relationship between political conservatism and participation in organizational affairs. There is no evidence that the conservative teachers have any more interaction with OEA leaders than do the liberal teachers. Also, those teachers who take a restrained view of the political role of the teacher are no more likely to communicate with OEA leaders than are those teachers who take a more expansionist view.[12] Thus, we can say that there is no weighting of communication which comes to the attention of OEA leaders in favor of conservatism and restraint.

Assuming, therefore, that being a leader in an organization contributes to a discrepancy between leaders' attitudes and followers' attitudes we may inquire finally into the possibility of a democratic interest group without frequent and carefully supervised consultative mechanisms. Can leaders be representative simply because they intuitively comprehend what is required of them? In considering this question, let us note that, with the exception of the last table, the discrepancy between the leaders' attitudes and followers' attitudes is generally *greater* than the errors made by leaders in perceiving these attitudes. Thus, leaders operating entirely upon their personal values would not be representative of the values of their followers. On the other hand, if they adopted a purely representative role, they would become more conservative and restrained than the teachers would prefer. Yet, with the exception of the last set of attitudes, the error would be *less* than would be true if followers' wishes were ignored. That is to say, if they followed their perceived understanding of followers' values, the resulting conservatism and restraint would be closer to the actual desires of teachers than would be true if leaders used their personal values as the sole criterion of judgment. "Virtual" representation in an interest group cannot serve as a substitute for actual representation because the position of group leader contributes to the development of attitudes which differ from those of the followers.

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[12] It is true, however, that there is more interaction between leaders and small town teachers; these teachers are considerably more conservative and restrained than their big city counterparts.

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CHAPTER 6/

The Classroom as a Forum

In this chapter we are concerned with what teachers think they ought to do in class and the extent to which the classroom is actually used as a forum for the discussion of political values.

The educational system is both a conscious and unconscious agent of political socialization. Teachers, as the representatives of the educational system who have the most direct personal contacts with students, function as transmission belts for the total educational system. Exactly how much impact the educational system has upon the political values of students is an unsettled question and is not the central problem of this chapter. We may assume, theoretically, in terms of its function within a political system, that the educational subsystem serves to "indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order."[1] The educational subsystem clearly operates in competition with other agents of political socialization, such as the primary group and mass media.

One cannot accurately assess the relative contributions of each agent to the total socialization of a member of society. Indeed it may be that there is a certain division of labor which takes place. For example, the family may implant basic and fundamental societal values, whereas the educational system may contribute to the development of secondary values. Whatever the impact of education upon values is, the society itself assumes that it is great. As Easton puts it, "In our society at any rate, schools get the child from at least the age of five and hold him, with certain differences for class origins and state legislation, until fifteen or sixteen. In that period the schools occupy an increasing portion of the child's and adolescent's day. If for no other reason than that the time at the disposal of educational institutions at this impressionable stage of development is so great, we might expect the impact of political orientations to be of equivalent force."[2]

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[1] V. O. Key, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 316.

Easton's comments are probably widely shared (although obviously not because of knowledge of these comments) by most of the members of a political system who have given the matter any thought. Hitler's extreme control over educational institutions is hardly a unique phenomenon. Again, to quote Key, "One of the first tasks of new rulers has been to rewrite textbooks and to purge the school system of adherence to the old ways in order that members of the old society might be erased and that the educational machine might be used to imprint the goals of the new order upon the plastic minds of the youth of the land."[3] Of course, the extent to which educational institutions act as conscious impregnators of the minds of youth varies from time to time and from country to country. In America in the 1920's Bessie Pierce provided a description of American schools as chauvinistic propagandists for conservatism and the *status quo*.[4] Today such chauvinism is not as apparent (at least in textbooks). In place of chauvinism there is an emphasis on what Litt calls "the democratic creed," which emphasizes active citizen participation in the political process.[5] Alexander's analysis of history textbooks is in line with Litt's conclusion. He observes that textbooks are cultural products of the times and finds that current books focus on "optimism," which derives from much of the values of the promotional age we live in.[6]

Perhaps it is this very decline in chauvinism which has drawn down upon the schools the wrath of the radical right. The burden of this evidence is that the purpose of the class, at least as it is reflected in the textbooks used in class, is not the indoctrination of youth with overt ideologies, but rather the training of youth for future participation in a democratic society. If the textbooks are becoming bland and "value free," are teachers following suit? After all, it is a relatively simple matter for a teacher to deviate substantially from the roughly objective nature of a textbook and to insert personal values.

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[2] David Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[3] Key, *op. cit.* For examination of the socializing functions of schools, see Fred I. Greenstein, *op. cit.*; James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957). See also Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

[4] Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, *op. cit.*; *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[5] Edgar Litt, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 69-75.

[6] Albert Alexander, "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," *Social Education*, 24 (January, 1960), pp. 11-14.

The perception of the class

How do teachers see their role in class? What are they teaching for? Do they make a distinction between facts and values? Do they *advocate* a particular point of view, or do they merely *referee* and retain objectivity? How much "politics" actually gets talked about in class? These are the kinds of questions to which this chapter will offer tentative answers.

There is some evidence about what students think ought to happen in class, but very little about what teachers think should happen. We learned from the Purdue studies of American teenage opinion that more than half of the high school students believed that teachers should express personal opinion and judgments about the country's political and economic system: "Pupils evidently not only want to learn *facts* about a subject but also want knowledge of the *values* put on these facts, even when this invades controversial areas."[7] Most teenagers also believe that teachers should be free to criticize our government and economic system. As absorbers of the classroom experience, therefore, students would like for this experience to emphasize controversy.

The question now becomes: do teachers share with students this perception of the classroom? To get at this question we asked the sample to indicate whether they thought that it was appropriate or proper for a teacher to engage in certain kinds of activities both in and out of the classroom. Activities outside of the classroom are included to provide evidence of the existence of a discrimination on the part of teachers between their role as citizen and their role as classroom teacher.

With regard to extraclass activity, teachers see themselves as properly taking part in a wide variety of behaviors. Here are the kinds of behaviors about which teachers were given the opportunity to express beliefs concerning propriety (arranged in order of preference with the percentage of teachers indicating that they should engage in an activity in parentheses):

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[7] Remmers and Radler, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

1. joining a political party (93 per cent);
2. serving as a precinct worker (91 per cent);
3. running for a political office (88 per cent);
4. making speeches for a Presidential candidate outside school time (85 per cent);
5. joining CORE or the NAACP (82 per cent);
6. joining a teachers' union (71 per cent);
7. publicly criticizing local government officials (58 per cent);
8. taking part in NAACP or CORE demonstrations (43 per cent);
9. going on strike to secure higher salaries or other benefits (29 per cent).

In seven out of nine behaviors, a majority of teachers indicated the belief that a given behavior was proper.

Let us compare these extraclass activities with the teachers' perception of propriety within the classroom. The following possible behaviors were examined:

1. speaking in favor of the United Nations (81 per cent);
2. allowing an atheist to address the class (58 per cent);
3. speaking against the John Birch Society (58 per cent);
4. speaking in favor of Medicare (47 per cent);
5. allowing the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the National Association of Manufacturers (46 per cent);
6. arguing in class that labor unions ought to be more regulated and controlled by the federal government (46 per cent);
7. speaking in class against the censorship of books believed by some people to be pornographic (43 per cent);
8. speaking in class in favor of socialism (41 per cent);
9. allowing the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the John Birch Society (31 per cent);
10. in a Presidential election, explaining to the class reasons for preferring a candidate (27 per cent).

It can readily be seen that the classroom is not looked upon as a medium for the expression of controversial opinions or, for that matter, even noncontroversial opinions by teachers. In eight out of ten possible behaviors, a majority of teachers prefer to remain quiet. Looking at classroom behavior as a whole, about 46 per cent of the teachers indicate that the teacher should engage in a particular activity as compared with 71 per cent of the teachers taking an expressive position on extraclass behavior.

It seems, therefore, that teachers in general make a clear distinction between their behavior inside a classroom and their behavior within the community but outside the class. For instance, 85 per cent of the teachers think that they should, if they wish, make a speech for a Presidential candidate outside school, whereas 27 per cent of them think that they should do so within a class. Note also the distinction made between the various kinds of classroom behavior. It is quite clear that the United Nations is for some reason a legitimate topic upon which to express opinion, but that Medicare and socialism are not. The fact that these behaviors all involve some dimension of the "liberal" persuasion does not seem to be a distinguishing characteristic, because conservative behaviors are also considered improper.

The wide consensus that it is proper to speak in favor of the United Nations may be a reflection of the belief that this institution is old and sufficiently well established so as to make it a "safe" topic. Every other behavior related to politics is, whether liberal or conservative, concerned with a less well established and, perhaps, consensual institution. Even allowing an atheist to address the class is more desirable than getting involved with anti-communist literature distributed by the National Association of Manufacturers or arguing for the close control of labor unions. Atheism is not as much of a problem as political controversy even when the conservative point of view is being expressed.

Notice also the discrimination made by teachers concerning the source of information. The National Association of Manufacturers is a much more legitimate source than the John Birch Society. Another discrimination which teachers apparently make concerns the intensity of commitment. It is proper to join racial groups, but it is not proper to demonstrate in support of the policies of these groups. It is proper to join a union, but it is not proper to strike. In class the worst thing one can do is to make a declaration of personal belief with regard to a Presidential candidate. If it is proper to join CORE or the NAACP, why is it improper to participate in the activities of these organizations if they involve public demonstrations? Why is such a distinction made between joining a union and taking part in a fairly typical union activity? Is it perhaps the public nature of the latter activities which makes them improper? If this is so, what are the criteria for the distinction between proper and improper behaviors?

Without going into the many possible factors which contribute to an individual decision about propriety, we can suggest that (with considerable simplification) there are two criteria involved in such a decision: first, whether it is abstractly "right" for a teacher to engage in a certain activity and second, whether undertaking a specified course of action will provoke unfavorable responses from those in a position to administer sanctions. Fear of consequences of the behavior might, in short, be related to the teacher's perception of propriety. We shall have more to say about the assumption of sanctions in the next chapter, but for now let us offer a somewhat crude test of the hypothesis that proper behavior can be equated with "safe" behavior.

Ideological variations in perception

Some of the activities described earlier in this chapter were selected for analysis in terms of the teachers' perceptions of the probable responses for various groups and individuals within the community or within the school system. Based upon their assessment of probable reactions, we can develop a set of rankings of selected behaviors and compare them with a ranking of these behaviors based upon propriety. The following table (Table 6-1) presents eight behaviors ranked first in order of propriety and second in order of the fear of sanctions.[8]

Table 6-1/ Proper Behavior and the Perceptions of Sanctions

Rank in order of Propriety	Rank in order of Fear of Sanctions
1. Speaking in favor of the United Nations	8
2. Allowing an atheist to address the class	4
3. Speaking against the John Birch Society	6
4. Speaking in favor of Medicare	7
5. Taking part in NAACP or CORE demonstrations	5
6. Speaking in favor of socialism	3
7. Going on strike	1
8. Explaining to the class reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate	2
r (Spearman's rank) = −.81	

The high negative correlation between the two rankings indicates that the greater the perception of probable sanctions, the less proper the behavior is perceived to be. Thus, speaking in favor of the United Nations is both proper and safe. Explaining to the class one's preference about a political candidate is both improper and unsafe. We shall have occasion in the next chapter to comment upon the variables which can contribute to a teacher being either sanction-prone or sanction-fearless. At this time we shall point out that the relationship between propriety and perception of sanctions is not without exceptions. However, in general, propriety is certainly not considered in a vacuum. This is not to say that teachers deliberately or consciously determine propriety on the basis of predicted community response, but it is quite apparent that estimations of probable consequences are part of the equation.

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[8] The ranking of fear of sanctions is computed by calculating the total number of times a behavior is mentioned as likely to induce a sanction by any group.

An alternative explanation is, of course, that teachers are making a sharp distinction between facts and values and that they view the classroom as a forum for the presentation of objective analysis rather than for the presentation of polemic arguments. This interpretation does not seem as valid as the one currently being pursued, however, because it does not explain the differences between the various kinds of proposed behaviors. Further, we shall see that the high school teachers actually do not make such a distinction.

We already have some clues as to the variables which contribute to expressive or acquiescent behavior on the part of teachers. We have commented previously upon the impact of experience and ideology upon expressive behavior and have noted that organizational participation has an unstable effect upon expressive behavior. We will now consider these above variables in some detail in order to arrive at a more inclusive description of the contributory factors to expressive behavior.

In the following table (Table 6-2), we have related ideology, teaching experience, and sex to expressive behavior. It can be seen that these three variables impact differently upon the hypothetical behaviors of teachers, but that some patterns emerge. Consider first the behavior which ranks last in order of propriety, explaining to class one's reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate. On this particular item there is little difference between men and women. About one-quarter of each group thinks that this behavior is proper; the real difference lies in other variables. Liberals think it is much more proper than conservatives, and teachers with less experience think it more proper than teachers with more experience. Controlling for sex leaves liberals still more expressive, although female liberals are slightly more so.

Whether liberal or conservative, all groups become less expressive as experience increases. The most expressive category of teachers is

Table 6-2/ Perceptions of Proper Behavior, by Sex, Ideology and Length of Time Teaching: Per Cent Approving of each Activity

Sex/Ideology/Length of Time Teaching	Join a teachers' union %	Go on strike %	Publicly criticize local officials %	Take part in CORE or NAACP demonstrations %	Explain to class reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate %	Allow an atheist to address the class %	Argue in class against censorship %	Speak in class against the John Birch Society %	Speak in class in favor of nationalization of steel and railroads %	Speak in class in favor of Medicare %	Speak in class in favor of socialism %	Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the NAM %	Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the John Birch Society %	Argue that labor unions should be more regulated by the federal government %	N
Male/ Liberal/ Short	82	41	70	63	31	74	56	54	43	54	47	50	40	50	89
Male/ Conservative/ Short	64	25	58	41	25	64	40	38	40	42	33	52	32	42	84
Male/ Liberal/ Long	80	29	69	58	23	66	47	59	45	53	46	54	31	56	89
Male/ Conservative/ Long	66	19	47	43	18	35	26	37	22	31	32	37	34	37	93
Female/ Liberal/ Short	81	42	66	50	34	75	62	56	45	56	53	46	31	51	90
Female/ Conservative/ Short	70	27	58	29	25	60	47	43	46	47	46	46	34	46	94
Female/ Liberal/ Long	76	27	73	42	25	56	48	50	47	38	38	40	31	57	57
Female/ Conservative/ Long	58	17	33	24	19	34	23	33	27	28	32	38	22	39	74

the female liberal who has not been teaching very long. The relationship of ideology to perception of proper behavior on this item is interesting. The question is obviously neither liberal or conservative, such as are the others. Yet even on a non-ideological question, conservatives are less expressive than are liberals. This point was made in the first chapter when it was observed that conservative teachers appeared more reluctant to use their classroom as a forum, even though this reluctance was somewhat keyed to the nature of the discussion being carried on in class. Nevertheless, on every measure of classroom behavior, whether "conservative," "neutral," or "liberal," the conservative teachers are less expressive. This is especially true of the older conservatives who undergo a radical reduction in expressive behavior. While both liberals and conservatives decrease their expressive behavior with experience, the decrease is considerably greater among conservatives.

There are exceptions to this general pattern. Speaking in class against the John Birch Society, for example, produces an interesting deviation. Among males the percentage of those who want to engage in this behavior does not change very much as experience increases. Liberals are still more willing than conservatives to do so, but the percentages remain fairly stable. However, among females the conservatives behave as expected; the percentage of expressive conservative female teachers declines considerably with experience.

Another interesting deviation is the delicate matter of speaking in favor of that traditional symbol of evil in America, socialism. More experienced women, irrespective of ideology, are not going to speak in favor of socialism, whereas ideology discriminates quite well among men. A similar pattern emerges on the question of speaking in favor of Medicare. Liberal men and liberal women are initially of the same opinion in regard to this question, but with experience the percentages among liberal men hold stable while they decline considerably among females. Thus, on this particular cluster of issues, we can distinguish expressive behavior both by means of sex and ideology with male liberals emerging as the most expressive. Among the conservative teachers, sex does not appear to be a very important variable.

Even on conservative issues, conservatives see less propriety in speaking out and using the classroom as a forum for the expression of values. Again, while it is obvious that ideology is related to expressive behavior on a particular item, it is equally obvious that conservatives are more reticent in their behavior preferences than are liberals and that this reticence is not entirely the extent to which their values are in harmony with the proposed behavior. It is true that conservatives are more willing to allow the expression of conservative than liberal beliefs, but on both sets of beliefs they are less expressive than liberals. So, disregarding entirely the substance of the issue, two clear patterns seem to emerge: Pattern 1—the male liberal teacher with short experience is expressive; Pattern 2—the female conservative teacher with long experience is reticent.

These patterns should not obscure some rather nice discriminations made by teachers. Notice the treatment given the John Birch Society by experienced male and female conservatives. In both groups this particular behavior received the *most* support. The conservatives seemed to be making some sort of judgment with regard to the propriety of an issue based upon the extent to which it is either "safe" or is in harmony with their values. This sort of discrimination does not seem to be as much in evidence among liberals. When it is a matter of allowing the distribution of John Birch Society literature, as distinguished from actually expressing an opinion about the Society, the conservatives, curiously enough, seem to be somewhat less reluctant to allow this distribution.

The relationship of conservatism to reticence holds true when we examine behavior outside the classroom. Just as in the classroom, in the direct political world there are certain kinds of potential acts which are more improper than others. Clearly, striking is taboo. Taking part in racial demonstrations is not quite so bad, especially among males. Females apparently regard this sort of activity as especially reprehensible. Thus, in the experienced teacher group, male conservatives and female liberals have similar responses. Again, the female conservatives are the most reticent group. Notice, however, the most severe of these extraclass behaviors, going on strike, produces no discrimination by sex. This was true also of the most severe types of intraclass behavior, explaining to class one's reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate. Perhaps, therefore, the severity of these items obscures what might be termed "normal" differences between men and women and leaves ideology and teaching experience free of sex differences, a situation which did not seem to hold for the less demanding types of behavior.

We note finally that the differences described above seem to hold whether or not the behavior involves the actual classroom. We make this point because other variables used to discriminate expressive or reticent teachers do not necessarily do so. For example, we would presume that since the teachers in small towns are more conservative than teachers in large cities, that they would be the possessors of reticent role perceptions. This is, in fact, the case with regard to such matters as unions and strikes, criticism of local officials, and racial demonstrations. But it is not the case with regard to behavior within the classroom. There is practically no difference between the role perceptions of large city and small town teachers with regard to expressive behavior in the classroom.

Political and organizational participation as contributors to perception

Another way of getting at the role perception of classroom teachers is to examine the socializing effect of organizational and political activity. We noted that organizational participation reduced the tendency to agree with union objectives and we commented upon the lack of a clear relationship between organizational participation and expressive role perceptions. In contrast to this unclear pattern, political participation has a readily understood relationship with expressive role orientations. (Table 6-3) In every case, the active political participants are more expressive. Notice the relatively expressive orientations of these participants with regard to explaining to the class one's reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate. Taking an active part in the political process is obviously related to a reduction in reticence and the desire of the teacher to want to express values and to create controversy within the class.

The substance of the controversy does not seem to make a great deal of difference. It is probably true that active involvement in the political process increases the cloudiness of one's perceptual screen, but it also contributes toward a view of the classroom as a forum for the expression of opinion. Thus, conservatives who are active participants in the political process are more expressive than inactive conservatives with regard to the expression of both liberal and conservative beliefs. It seems likely that active participation in the political process is related to the development of a somewhat more combative posture than is true of passive teachers.

The development of expressive or combative role orientations is clearly not related to active participation in the educational organization. In less than half the cases do the more active members of the organization also take a more expressive position. In most of these cases the difference between active and inactive groups is negligible. It is obvious that the real difference between the active and the inactive participants in the educational organization occurs with regard to the question of the strike.

Table 6-3/ Participation and Perceptions of Proper Behavior: Per Cent Approving of each Activity

	Join a teachers' union	Go on strike	Publicly criticize local officials	Take part in CORE or NAACP demonstrations	Explain to class reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate	Allow an atheist to address the class	Argue in class against censorship	Speak in class against the John Birch Society	Speak in class in favor of nationalization of steel and railroads	Speak in class in favor of Medicare	Speak in class in favor of socialism	Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the NAM	Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature put out by the John Birch Society	Argue that labor unions should be more regulated by the federal government	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Political Participation															
Low	71	28	46	40	22	62	34	37	38	46	27	37	31	39	261
High	72	34	76	55	38	66	50	59	42	54	50	68	54	58	76
Organization Participation															
Low	77	34	57	45	23	62	49	47	35	43	40	48	31	43	333
High	66	13	60	42	33	55	33	49	40	47	40	46	34	42	69

There is a radical difference in the "effects" of the two kinds of activity upon the teacher's perception of the classroom. If the perception of the role of the classroom is a form of "political mindedness," which we might equate with some form of political activity, then the behavior of the politically-active teachers is "normal." Involvement in politics is a function of intensely felt values which in turn stimulate a person toward "talking politics" or "being political." Yet participation in an organization does not produce this kind of orientation, even though political activity and organizational membership are related (no matter whether the organization is actively political or not).[9] It may be, therefore, that the ideology of the organization as it is perceived by the active members is one of caution. Thus with regard to extraclass behaviors, inactive members seem to be more expressive. There is practically no difference between the two groups with regard to public criticism of local officials and taking part in racial demonstrations. Concerning intraclass behavior, on only three possible behaviors is there much difference between the two groups and on two of these behaviors inactive participants are the more expressive. The *general caution* of the active member is, therefore, highlighted by his approach to strikes.

We find that among both active and passive teachers, a "peak" of expressive behavior occurs at the low experience level, suggesting once again that expressive behavior is also a function of youth. Nevertheless, controlling for teaching experience still leaves us with the same overall results. While more experienced teachers become less expressive, their orientations as functions of active or passive membership in the organization remain the same.

Two patterns of behavior can be noticed here. One, in which the active teachers are more expressive, shows that at every level of experience this relationship remains the same. However, when passive teachers are more expressive, we find the typical characteristics of this pattern developing fully only at the long-experience level. (Chart 6-1)

Talking politics in class

This discussion of role orientation tells us nothing about what actually goes on in class. How much politics actually gets talked about? Even though we find a relationship between political participation and expressive role orientation, can we also find a relationship between expressive role orientation and actual discussion of political matters in class? The answer is quite clearly in the affirmative. If we assign the respondents a position on an expressive behavior orientation index ranging from low to high, we find a clear and linear relationship between position on this index and the extent to which a teacher actually discusses politics in class.[10] The more expressive the role orientation, the more actual discussion is undertaken. However, this relationship should not obscure the fact that the closer one gets to the school, the fewer become the political discussions. (Chart 6-2)

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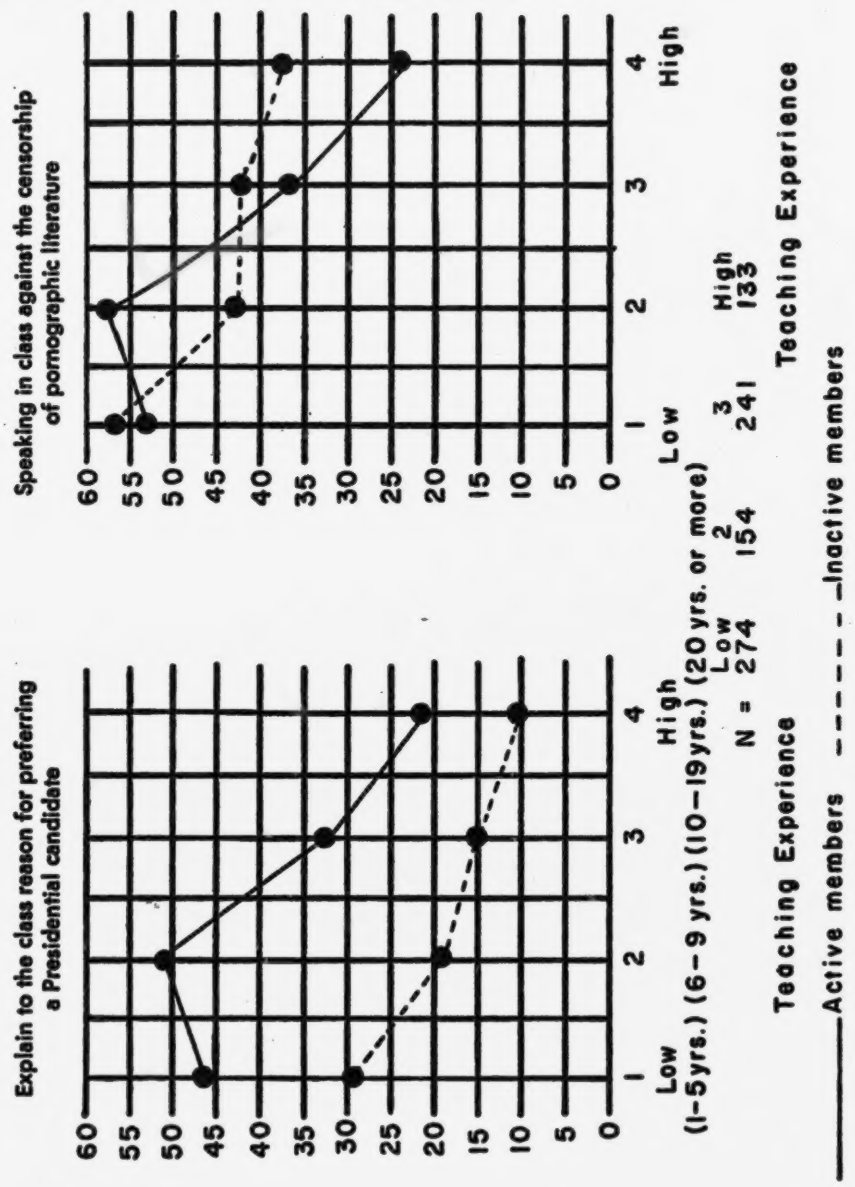
[9] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

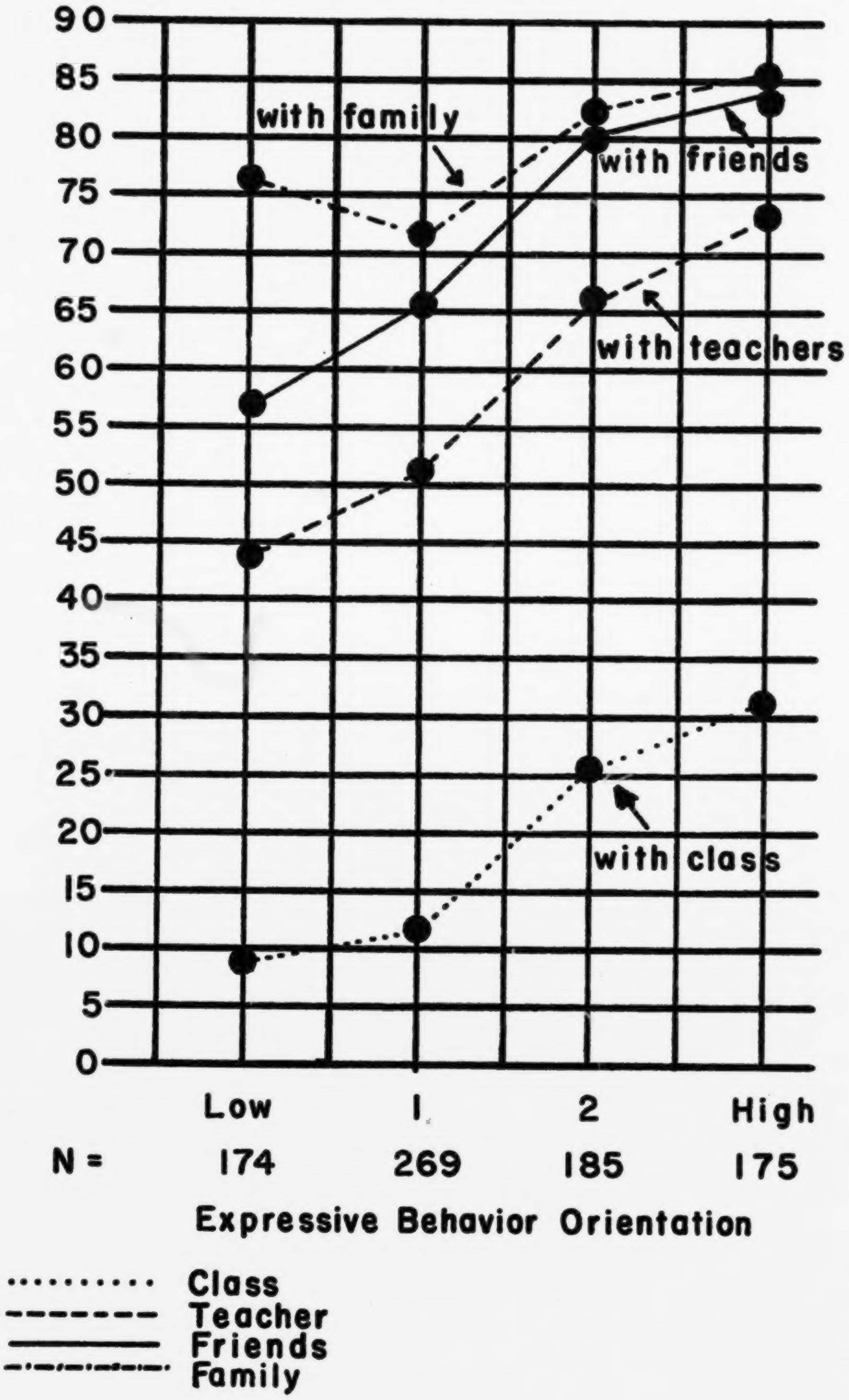
[10] The index is computed by assigning respondents a position from 0 to 4 depending upon their position on indexes measuring expressive orientations inside and outside the classroom.

Chart 6-1/ Organizational Participation and Perception of Proper Behavior, Controlling for Teaching Experience



People with high expressive orientations talk more about politics with their family, friends, teachers, and classes than those with low expressive role orientations. However, the classroom is clearly the last place teachers turn for political discussions. Thus, just about one-third of the expressively-oriented teachers talk about politics in class whereas overwhelming majorities of these teachers discuss politics with other teachers, their friends, or families.

Chart 6-2/ Expressive Orientation and Talking Politics



Even though political discourses decline as one approaches the school environment, there is a clear relationship between role perception and actual classroom behavior. In addition, role perception is related to political participation outside of class. Forty-five per cent of the expressive-oriented teachers have worked for candidates and attended meetings, 14 per cent of the nonexpressive teachers have done so.

Expressive role orientations are also related to party affiliation and voting. Teachers with low expressive orientations tend to be Republicans and supporters of Barry Goldwater, whereas the reverse is true of the teachers with high expressive orientations. This means that among the teaching population we have a reversal of the "normal" behavior of partisans. Republicans actually participate *less* in politics both inside and outside of the classroom.

This relationship between expressive role orientations and political conservatism and classroom behavior holds true for many categories of teachers. For instance, there is a distinct difference in the expressive behavior of large city teachers as compared to small town teachers. Large city teachers talk politics more in class and are liberal; small town teachers do not talk politics very much in class and are more conservative. Incidentally, although small town teachers are less expressive generally, they are more likely to prefer the expression of conservative but not liberal opinions. This is especially true of small town teachers who were raised in a small town. The greatest number of "conservative errors" are made by this group.[11]

Another valid comparison can be made in terms of courses taught. Presumably, social sciences would, because of the nature of the subject matter, be the courses in which the most politics would be discussed. This is indeed the case. Seventy-nine per cent of the social studies class instructors indicated they "always" or "often" talk about politics in class. No other discipline comes anywhere near this total; the next highest is English and foreign languages in which 15 per cent of the teachers indicate that they discuss politics in class at this same rate. If we include those teachers who indicated they "sometimes" talk about politics in class, then the percentages jump considerably. Ninety-seven per cent of the social studies instructors talk about politics in class using this measure, followed by 62 per cent of the English and foreign language teachers. There is a sharp break to agriculture, physical education, general education, and business education (about 41 per cent), declining even further to mathematics and science (about 39 per cent) and finally to art and music (about 34 per cent). It can easily be seen that this ranking is roughly approximated with regard to expressive orientations with social sciences and English and foreign languages being the most expressive. Notice also the clear relationship between political ideology, talking politics in class, and expressive orientations. (Table 6-4)

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[11] A response is considered a conservative error when the respondent indicates that it is proper to speak in favor of the close supervision of labor unions but improper to speak in favor of the nationalization of steel and railroads. See chapter 1.

Table 6-4/ Role Orientation, Talking Politics in Class, and Ideology (in Ranks)

Role Perception*	Talking Politics in Class**	Ideology***
1. Social Studies (52)	1 (97)	1 (49)
2. English, Foreign Language (48)	2 (63)	2 (39)
3. Art, Music (41)	6 (34)	3 (36)
4. Math, Science (40)	5 (39)	4 (29)
5. Agriculture, Physical Education, Home Economics (37)	4 (40)	6 (23)
6. Business and General Education (36)	3 (42)	5 (27)
	r (Kendall's w) = .74	

* Mean expressive response to all items

** Percentage indicating they "always," "often," or "sometimes" talk about politics in class

*** Per cent liberal

The social studies and English and foreign languages are characterized by liberal teachers who talk a lot about politics in class and who think that this is the proper sort of thing for them to do. Teachers of business and general education have low perceptions of their expressive roles, do not talk about politics in class very much, and are rather conservative. In line with these patterns, about 18 per cent of the social studies teachers voted for Barry Goldwater in comparison to 44 per cent of the business and general education teachers. So, the content of the high school classroom seems to be liberal since these are the values most likely to be expressed by teachers.

Of course, as we have seen, expressive behavior is also related to community. Thus small town social studies teachers are substantially less liberal than large town social studies teachers. About 50 per cent of the large town social studies teachers are liberal and about 23 per cent of the small town social studies teachers are liberal. In the small town, conservative opinions receive *more* expression, but this is a single exception to the general rule. In the first chapter we found that teachers in general were characterized by conservative ideologies. We may now add that pupils are more likely to be exposed to liberal ideologies because of the relationship between ideology, expressive role orientations, and expressive behaviors.

Facts and values

For high school teachers, the distinction between facts and values is very obscure. Given the opportunity to judge a variety of statements expressing the basic "truths" of either a liberal or conservative faith, in most cases teachers were unable to decide whether a statement was a fact or a value.[12] The overwhelming majority of teachers indicated that they did not know the factual or evaluative nature of a particular statement. In one case, however, a substantial proportion of the teachers indicated that the given statement was a fact. The statement, which Litt would call an expression of political chauvinism, was: "The American form of government may not be perfect, but it is the best type of government yet devised by man." Even though the statement included the word "best," 42 per cent of the teachers indicated that this statement was a fact, 50 per cent said that it was an opinion which could be expressed in class, 3 per cent maintained that it was an opinion which should not be expressed in class, and the remainder did not know the nature of the statement.

Even though no other statements which teachers were asked to judge produced such a heavy commitment to the factual nature of these statements, they were analyzed in order to determine if the responses to the item about the quality of American government were typical, except for the heavier loading in the "fact" response category. It was found that the responses to this item were indeed typical of the responses to the other items. Specifically, only a tiny handful of teachers are of the opinion that any statement is an opinion which should *not* be expressed. Either they do not know the nature of the opinion or they think it is either a fact or an opinion which can be expressed.

What kind of teachers are most likely to think that the statement about the quality of American government is a fact? First and most obviously, the factual nature of this statement is emphasized more intensely by those who agree with it (conservatives). Fifty-five per cent of those teachers who strongly agree with this statement say it is a fact compared with 23 per cent of those who agree but not quite so strongly. Of course, none of the teachers who disagreed with this statement (about 3 per cent) thought this statement was factual. The general rule is that the stronger the agreement with the values expressed in a statement, the stronger the inclination to describe the statement as a fact. Although conservatives agree with this statement more than liberals and, consequently described it as factual, the difference between the two ideological positions becomes clear principally in small towns. In large towns the differences between liberals and conservatives are not very great, but in small towns 37 per cent of the liberals as compared with 51 per cent of the conservatives think that the statement is factual. Thus it takes a combination of small town conservatives to produce a strong commitment to such a statement.

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[12] See chapter 5 for a listing of the items.

Males are more likely to think this statement factual than females at every level of experience, but the tendency to think the statement factual increases substantially with experience in both sexes (39 per cent of the inexperienced males and 30 per cent of the inexperienced females as compared to 57 per cent and 49 per cent of the experienced males and females think this statement is factual). Curiously enough, although this statement produces all the typical responses of a conservative belief, teachers of social studies are the ones most likely to think this statement is factual (51 per cent). This compares with only 36 per cent of the business and general education teachers even though they are considerably more conservative than the social studies teachers.

Some of the ambiguities in the relationship between ideology and belief that a statement is factual suggest that a stronger relationship between ideology and response to a statement would occur if we took a more extreme measure of conservatism, one that is designed to reflect the "my country, right or wrong" sentiment of the respondent. Such a scale as the Morality and Patriotism scale, for instance, should produce a stronger relationship. This is true, as 52 per cent of the teachers who score high on the Morality and Patriotism scale as compared with 35 per cent of those who score low think that the statement is factual.

We found that participation is directly related to one's perception of the classroom as a forum. To what extent does participation contribute to strongly held beliefs—beliefs so strongly held that the distinction between facts and values becomes obscured? We would hypothesize that, just as political participation induces strong partisanship in the political process, it also induces strong adherence to values. This expectation is supported, as 35 per cent of the teachers who are low participants in the political process in comparison with 54 per cent of the high participants think that the statement is a fact. Half of the teachers who indicate that they are extremely interested in politics think it is a fact compared with 25 per cent of those who indicate that their interest in politics is not very great. The same relationship between activity and belief in the factual nature of this statement holds for classroom behavior. Fifty-six per cent of those who talk about politics a lot in class compared with 40 per cent of those who never talk politics in class say that this statement is a fact.

Although this statement is "conservative" in its response patterns, is it really very conservative or is it more indicative of nationalism and patriotism? Although nationalism and patriotism are usually related to conservatism, this statement is clearly not as conservative as some of the other ones included in the interview schedule. Indeed one has to more or less tease out some relationships between the data to establish the clearly conservative nature of this statement.

Suppose we examine a statement which has a more obvious ideological bias. For instance, the statement, "Economic and social planning does not necessarily lead to dictatorship," should extract more factual responses from liberals than from conservatives. About 34 per cent of the teachers think this statement is factual (38 per cent of the liberals and 29 per cent of the conservatives). In accordance with the established patterns, most of the remaining teachers think it is an opinion which should be expressed.

With regard to the question about the quality of the American government, we found that the difference between liberals and conservatives was especially great in small towns. Here, with the bias of the question reversed, we find that the difference between ideological positions is greater in large towns. So, the big town liberal teacher, as compared with the small town conservative in the previous question, thinks this statement is factual.

Belief in the factual nature of a liberal statement does not increase with teacher experience; it actually decreases. This suggests once again that the teaching experience operates to inhibit liberal more than conservative beliefs. Once again the social studies teachers attribute factual connotations to this statement, but people who are *low* on the Morality and Patriotism scale do so.

Exactly the same relationship previously noticed between political participation and belief in the factual nature of the statement holds true here also. The more active a person is in politics, the more likely he is to think a statement is a fact. Thus, irrespective of the ideology of the statement, participation seems to induce within the participant a strong adherence to a given statement.

Is this relationship also true with regard to a more obviously conservative statement such as, "Private enterprise is the only really workable system in the modern world for satisfying our economic wants"? Roughly the same proportion of the teachers think this statement is factual as compared with the previous liberal statement. In this case, again, ideology is clearly related, and once again belief in the factual nature of this statement increases with experience. Now, however, belief in the factual nature of the statement is greatest among teachers of business and general education courses and least in social studies teachers. We thus have, depending upon the ideological overtones of this statement, two clearly different sets of respondents reacting in entirely different ways to the statement.

We had found on both of the two previous statements that belief in the factual nature of the statement was related to participation. Is this relationship clear even though we are now dealing with a much more conservative item? That is to say, does participation in the political process, irrespective of ideology, contribute to a strong response to a statement? Looking only at the first two items, this would seem to be the case. One confounding factor would be the more active participation of liberals in the political process. We might expect, therefore, that on this more clearly conservative item, the relationship between participation and response to the statement would not be as clear. This seems to be the case. On the liberal item, the difference between high and low scores on a political participation index was 17 per cent, on the conservative item the difference was 8 per cent. Thus, irrespective of the ideology of the participant, the political process contributes to partisanship and "bias," but this contribution is greater among liberals than conservatives.

CHAPTER 7/

The Teacher and Sanctions

Because of their role as a transmission belt for societal values, the schools are under consistent pressure from the community. As Raywid says, "Not only is American education under fire; the practice of criticizing our schools is well on its way to becoming a national pastime."[1] Presumably, the administrative officials of a school would be the essential targets of efforts to sanction. Raywid's investigation of organizations concerning themselves with the public schools found that teachers themselves, despite their centrality in the educational institution, are not singled out as targets for complaint. However, in Massachusetts, school administrators report that they receive frequent demands and protests concerning the views of teachers. Gross learned that of 15 possible types of demands made upon administrators and school board members, the seventh most frequent was related to the values and ideologies of teachers. Of course, most of the demands which administrators deal with concern money. Excluding money matters, only demands concerning the nature of the curriculum and athletic program exceed protests about the views expressed by teachers.[2]

The nature of sanctions

We are concerned with the teachers' *perception* of sanctions rather than with the existence of actual sanctions. By sanctions we mean any sort of behavior undertaken by an individual or a group which is designed to deter or inhibit a potential act by a teacher. We make no distinction between "illegitimate" sanctions and "legitimate" sanctions. From an evaluative point of view one could argue that any sanction imposed upon a teacher for the expression of an opinion or the performance of an act is illegitimate, since in a democratic society political behavior should not be blocked by negative sanctions.[3]

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[1] Mary Anne Raywid, *The Ax-Grinders* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 7.

[2] Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 50.

However, we are not concerned with the legitimacy or legality of sanctions. We are very much concerned, rather, with the *severity* of sanctions which may be imposed upon a teacher. Presumably, the severity of sanctions varies with the type of behavior which a teacher might undertake. Severity might also vary with the extent to which the values of teachers are in harmony with the values of the community. If there is a clear and consistent difference between teachers' values and community values, then teachers might not be serving the function of transmitters of cultural values and might be perceived by the community to be operating as instigators of social change. The latter role should increase the number and severity of sanctions.

Teacher values and community values

An opportunity to compare the values (concerning educational and political beliefs) of teachers and the communities they serve was provided by the administration of identical questions to a sample of residents of the communities in which teachers lived.[4] With regard to educational philosophy, teachers, no matter whether they live in large or small communities, are more progressive than the community. For example, 46 per cent of the sample population, irrespective of size, believes that public schools are not giving enough emphasis to fundamentals and that there is too much emphasis on cooperation. Twenty-six per cent of the teachers agree with this belief. Twenty-three per cent of the community respondents believe that public schools change pupils away from their parents' ideas, whereas 6 per cent of the teachers believe this.

This disparity in values might provide some clue to the instigation of sanctioning activity by community members. Demands that the curriculum be revised either conservatively (to instill the "three R's") or liberally (to include such topics as sex education) are high on the lists of pressures as reported by superintendents.

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[3] These comments are developed from Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

[4] The data on community residents was collected by a mail questionnaire administered in 1963 under the direction of Robert Agger. Fifty-three per cent of 1125 questionnaires mailed out were returned.

A comparison of teacher and community values on questions of more general political philosophy does not produce such clear disparities. (Table 7-1) As we already have observed, large city teachers are more liberal than small town teachers. Communities, however, do not seem to share this distribution of values. In large towns, teachers appear slightly more liberal than the community. The greatest disparity occurs, as we would expect, on the question of federal aid to education. On other questions there is really very little difference between teachers and community.

Table 7-1/ A Comparison of Teacher Attitudes and Community Attitudes: Percentages Agreeing with Each Statement

	Large Cities		Small Towns	
Statement	Teachers (269)	Community (353)	Teachers (266)	Community (172)
The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job.	41%	47%	30%	51%
If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the help they need.	65%	37%	56%	32%
The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.	60%	57%	40%	59%
The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private business to handle.	44%	47%	49%	49%
If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do.	75%	59%	70%	65%

In small towns, the community is significantly more liberal than the teachers on two of the items (full employment and Medicare). Teachers are slightly more liberal with regard to equal housing opportunities and are considerably more liberal concerning federal aid to education. It is only on this latter issue that the teachers appear significantly more liberal than the community. Although it is difficult to achieve cumulative scales when comparing two groups, the effort was made and it is generally supportive of these findings. Small town teachers are *more* conservative than the community; large town teachers are *less* conservative than the community. Excluding federal aid to education, the disparity between teachers' values and community values is greater in small towns than in large towns; but the direction of differences, the reverse. That is to say, there is a smaller difference between the values of the two groups in large cities with teachers leaning slightly to the "left" of the community. There is a larger difference between the values of the two groups in small communities with teachers leaning somewhat to the "right" of the community.

Does the larger disparity in small towns mean that these teachers are more likely to be sanctioned, or does the direction of the difference, rather than the magnitude, mean that they are relatively safe from community pressures? We found no appreciable difference between the perceptions of large and small town teachers with regard to perception of sanctions. We would speculate that if the disparity between teachers and community had been great and at the same time teachers had been leaning to the left of the community, perceptions of sanctions might have been increased. As we shall see, there are various factors related to the teacher's view of the sanctioning potential of the community, but the size of the community itself is not relevant.

The teachers' perceptions of sanctions

Who do teachers believe would threaten them if they undertook controversial courses of action? To arrive at some estimate of the perceptual world of the teacher, we asked the teachers to evaluate the probable reaction of a series of groups and individuals if they undertook such actions as going on strike and explaining to the class their reasons for preferring a Presidential candidate. (The complete list of these behaviors is listed in the previous chapter.) Teachers were asked first to evaluate whether or not a given group or individual would approve or disapprove of an action; and next, if they would disapprove, what sort of retaliation or punitive gesture could be expected. Types of sanctioning activity ranged from very moderate (wanting to present the other side, disagreeing publicly, and so

Table 7-2/ Teachers' Perceptions of Sanctioning Agents

	Go on strike (6229)	Explain to class reason for preferring a Presidential candidate (4238)	Speak in class in favor of socialism (3863)	Allow an atheist to address the class (3623)	Take part in NAACP or CORE demonstrations (3585)	Speak in class against the John Birch Society (1776)	Speak in class in favor of Medicare (1669)	Speak in class in favor of the U.N. (477)	Sanction severity ratio	
1. Local cranks (2531)	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	.67	
2. Parents (PTA) (2213)	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	.56	
3. Member of the school board (2090)	4	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	.50	
4. Superintendent (1869)	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	.31	
5. Principal (1815)	1	1	1	1	1	①	0	0	.19	
6. Other teachers (1720)	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	.31	
7. Patriotic groups (1660)	2	3	3	3	0	③	0	0	.44	
8. Church or religious groups (1412)	2	⓪	3	3	0	0	0	0	.25	
9. Republican politicians (1291)	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	.25	
10. Students (1208)	⓪	2	2	②	0	0	0	0	.19	
11. Newspaper (1202)	2	2	2	②	②	0	0	0	.31	
12. Business groups (1190)	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	.19	CR = .92
13. Tax opposition groups (1069)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.09	
14. Veterans groups (999)	0	0	③	0	0	0	0	0	.09	
15. Democratic politicians (994)	0	③	0	0	0	0	0	0	.09	
16. City officials (926)	③	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.09	
17. Farm organizations (760)	②	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.06	
18. Labor unions (518)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.00	
Sanction severity ratio	.50	.43	.40	.32	.21	.14	.03	.03		

forth) to very extreme (demanding public investigations, pressuring the administration to fire the teacher, and so forth).

The nature of the predicted response of a group or individual was classified from zero (no sanction activity) to four (extreme sanction activity). When we rank sanctioning agents and behaviors by total number of sanction predictions (disregarding the severity of the sanction), the ranking in Table 7-2 is the result. The numbers immediately following each sanctioning agent or behavior are the total number of sanction scores attributed to them by the teachers. For example, with a sample of 803 teachers and 18 possible sanctioning agents, a maximum sanction score for each agent is 14,454 (803 x 18). For the sample of 803 teachers and 8 possible behaviors, the maximum score for each behavior is 6,424 (803 x 8). These scores have nothing to do with the intensity of sanctions. The number in each cell refers to the type of sanction which the highest percentage of teachers indicated would probably occur under a given situation. Thus, the extreme left-hand corner of the table tells us that if teachers went on strike, local cranks would impose a type 3 sanction upon them. The numbers at the extreme right and lower margins of the table are "sanction severity ratios." These scores are simply the ratio of the actual score to the maximum score which an individual or behavior could achieve. Thus, if there are 8 behaviors, each sanctioning agent could achieve a score of 32, meaning that for each behavior the agent was perceived as imposing the maximum sanction. Since there are 18 sanctioning agents, each behavior could achieve a score of 72, meaning that each group imposed the maximum sanction.

It can be seen that it is possible to achieve a sanction severity ratio score by different types of perceived behavior. An agent which sanctions mildly in all areas can achieve a score equal to that of an agent which sanctions severely in a few areas. Likewise, a behavior which elicits a mild sanctioning response from all groups can be equalled by a behavior which elicits a severe sanctioning response from a few groups. Thus, it can be noticed that although the sanction severity ratio scores roughly approximate the position of an agent on the table, there are occasions in which the scores would raise or lower the position of an agent if the rating were to be made on this basis. For example, patriotic groups which ranked seventh would move up to fourth if the sanction ratio were used as a basis for ranking. However, the correlation between the two rankings of behaviors is perfect. Assuming that a score from 1 to 4 can be recorded as a "positive" or sanction response and a 0 is a "negative" or no sanction response, we can plot the information on a Guttman-type scale and record errors in the conventional fashion.

The table makes clear the fact that teachers perceive sanctions as originating from within the educational system, rather than from within the community. Except for the local cranks, those people who have habitually harrassed the educational system, the agents which teachers perceive as potential sanctioners are parents, school board members, superintendents, principals, and teachers. Students are the only intraschool group missing from the top third of the list of sanctioners. One might want to argue that these perceptions are not reality, which is, of course, true. Therefore, the fact that teachers are, in effect, buffered in their contact with the community by the administration might cause them to look upon the administration as a direct source of sanctions whereas in reality the administration might merely be transmitting sanctions which originated from within the community. There is no immediate rebuttal to this argument. However, Gross' study of administrators in Massachusetts indicates that they too see the greatest source of pressure as originating from within the school system. Superintendents and school board members indicated that the greatest source of pressure upon them was parents, school board members, and teachers.[5] Further, in evaluating the form in which a particular sanction might take, teachers were perfectly free to indicate that the sanction would flow to the administration rather than to them directly. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that they see pressure as actually originating from within the school system. Keeping in mind that these responses are not measures of actual events but are measures of estimates of probable events, it appears that the participants in the educational system—that subsystem of the polity charged with the duty of transmitting cultural norms—do not look upon the community as the source of very severe danger. We know, for example, that patriotic groups (as least insofar as their noisiness is a measure) keep a careful watch over the schools. Yet to teachers such groups are a small threat when compared to parents.

The advantages of recording the severity of sanctions become apparent. First, of all the behaviors which were included in the interview schedule, only going on strike to secure higher salaries or other benefits produced a type 4 (or most extreme) prediction of probable sanctions. The superintendent and school board are believed to be capable of exerting this most extreme pressure under these circumstances. The principal, in contrast, is perceived to be a relatively mild sanctioner. In fact, the principal's sanctions are believed to be less severe than those of the other teachers. The behavior of the principal on this particular item is typical of his behavior on all items on which he is believed to be willing to undertake a sanctioning act, whereas the members of the school board and the superintendent modify their sanctioning behavior as the situation changes. Although the principal is one of the top sanctioning agents, his sanction severity ratio score of .19 is the lowest of the intraschool groups and is comparable to the scores of students and business groups. Both students and business groups are perceived to sanction on fewer issues but far more intensely on each of these issues. Thus, the principal, although he is the most immediate and tangible symbol of authority for the teachers, is less frightening than other high ranking sanctioning agents. The principal sanctions on as many or more issues than the other high ranking agents, but he does so in a much milder fashion. The other sanctioners of comparable rank are perceived as being considerably more tenacious and severe in their sanctioning behavior.

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[5] Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

The perception of the principal which emerges seems to be one of benevolent authority. The principal would undertake punitive action in the same fashion that a father would discipline a mischievous child. Even students, while concerned with fewer issues, are perceived as being rougher than the principal. The parents are quite obviously the greatest intraschool threat to the teacher, followed closely by the members of the school board. Thus, the closer one gets to the actual day by day operation of the school, the less imposing become the possible sanctioning agents. Becker's analysis of teacher-parent relationships is useful here. Teachers, maintains Becker, believe that parents have no legitimate right to interfere with "professional" responsibilities.[6] Therefore, it is probably not coincidental that school board members who are representatives of the lay community are, like parents, more fearsome than the superintendent or the principal who symbolize the professional system. The latent authority of parents is an obvious threat since it competes directly with the classroom authority of the teacher. The potential control of the lay community might be described as more illegitimate since it originates from "outsiders." It would certainly be desirable in the eyes of teachers if the participation of parents and members of the school board in the internal affairs of the school could be kept at a minimum.

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[6] Howard S. Becker, "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 27 (November, 1953), pp. 128-141. See also Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (March, 1952), pp. 470-477.

The fact that parental authority is an obvious competitor to classroom authority may account for the high sanction ratio score of the parents.

Notice the curiously ambivalent perceptions of teachers with regard to principals and students. Principals have legitimate authority over them and they have legitimate authority over students. Yet in spite of the formal "chain of command," both principals and students have identical sanction severity ratio scores. This fact seems supportive of the arguments of Coleman and Clark that the classroom authority of the teacher is slipping and that a crisis of authority is in progress.[7] Hence, the immediate subordinates of teachers in the authority system, the students, are as threatening as the immediate superior. Another source of possible sanctions for the teacher comes from colleagues whose position is one of peer, rather than one of subordinate or superordinate. Colleagues are more threatening than the principal and students and are as threatening as the superintendent. Presumably, teachers would have a mutual interest in defending themselves against attacks. At the same time, they are likely to be moderately severe if teachers behaved in a fashion which is not in conformity with group norms. Thus, teachers see other teachers as more severe in the disapproval of going on strike than principals.

One source of the difficulty in organizing teachers into unions might be not only the fact that most people do not believe teachers should take part in such an activity, but that the norms of the teaching profession itself forbid it. Notice that students are not perceived as being sanctioners on the issue of strikes. This perception is in agreement with the available evidence which suggests that of all the groups in the society, students are most sympathetic to the salary problems of teachers and most likely to approve a strike.[8]

Among the extraschool agents, local cranks, patriotic groups, newspapers, church or religious groups, and Republican politicians seem to be the most threatening. The other agents, although occasionally severe in their perceived reactions, are generally restricted to one or two issues. Hence, tax opposition groups would be annoyed by a strike; business organizations would be annoyed by striking or using the classroom as a forum to express preference for a Presidential candidate; veterans groups would become angry only if one spoke in favor of socialism; city officials and farm organizations would react only to the issue of a strike; Democratic politicians care only about speaking in class in favor of a Presidential candidate. The relatively low ranking of tax groups is in contrast with Gross' study of administrators who found, not surprisingly, that taxpayers' associations ranked very high.

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[7] James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 760-761.

[8] H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. See the following for discussions of the role of the teacher in the community: Beeman N. Phillips, "Community Control of Teacher Behavior," *Journal of Teacher Education*, 4 (December, 1955), pp. 293-300; Frederic W. Terrien, "Who Thinks What About Educators," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (September, 1953), pp. 150-158; Terrien, "The Ocupational Roles of Teachers," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 29 (September, 1955), pp. 14-20.

An examination of the perceived reaction of these extraschool sanctioning agents provides us with some interesting examples of the teacher's view of the community. Notice that church groups would be annoyed if teachers spoke in favor of socialism as they would if teachers allowed an atheist to address the class. One would have assumed that atheism was the *bete noire* of these groups, but apparently socialism is just as bad. In fact, church groups are perceived to be as rough on patriotic groups on these two issues. Another interesting comparison is that between Democrats and Republicans. Whereas the representatives of both major parties are believed to frown upon the expression of personal values about Presidential candidates in class, the Republicans, unlike Democrats, are also concerned about socialism and strikes.

Variations in perceptions

These rankings are reflective of a very substantial consensus among teachers. To ascertain the extent to which the perceptions of sanctioning agents varied with the individual characteristics of the teacher, we constructed a series of comparative ranks using ideology, party affiliation, length of time teaching, size of town teaching in, orientation toward the community, and score on a sanction sensitivity index as comparative judges. In no case did the correlation drop below .9. However, there were some significant differences in perceptions between groups which are worthy of mention.

Briefly, liberals are much more frightened of patriotic groups than are conservatives, whereas conservatives are much more frightened of students than are liberals. Likewise, Democrats rank patriotic groups higher than Republicans and rank students lower. Democrats also rank business groups somewhat higher. However, both Democrats and Republicans among the teaching population are more afraid of Republican politicians than they are of Democratic politicians. In fact, Republican teachers rank Republican politicians ninth, whereas Democratic teachers rank them eleventh! New teachers rank patriotic groups considerably higher than old teachers. This is consistent with the tendency of new teachers to rank all extraschool sanctioners somewhat higher. The older teachers see greater sanctions from within the system. The rankings of small and large town teachers are practically identical, except that students are seen as a greater threat in the small towns.

Perhaps the greatest difference between rankings occurs when we compare sanction-fearless teachers with sanction-prone teachers. Sanction-fearless teachers are considerably higher in their estimation of the potential dangers of church and religious groups, patriotic groups, and democratic politicians, but they are considerably lower in their estimation of the potential danger of business organizations. By sanction-fearless we refer to teachers who indicate a belief that their behavior *would not* stimulate a sanction response. Sanction-prone teachers are those who believe that their behavior *would* provoke sanctioning responses by the 18 groups included in our analysis.[9] Some teachers are simply more afraid than others.

The sanction-prone and the sanction-fearless teacher

What makes a person afraid? What makes a teacher think that no matter what sort of behavior is undertaken, the reaction of the community and educational system will be immediate and unpleasant? Is fear of sanctions a result of the actual conditions surrounding a teacher? Is it a result of the fact that some communities are really more threatening or that some courses provoke more sanctions (for example, social studies)? In other words, is fear of sanctions a product of a realistic appraisal of the true state of affairs?

Another explanation is that fear of sanctions has nothing to do with the "real world," but is more functionally related to the individual characteristics of a given teacher. We have no way of comparing perceptions of their world with the real world. There are no hypotheses to guide us in our assessment of the factors which produce fear of sanctions. We would suspect that a teacher's score on a sanction sensitivity scale is a function both of individual characteristics and of a realistic appraisal of the situation. To illustrate, there is no difference between the attitudes of large and small town teachers toward sanctions. However, teachers who are migrants from small towns to large cities or from large cities to small towns are more likely to be sanction-prone than are teachers who live in cities of approximately the same size as those in which they were raised. In this case the objective environment does not appear to be very important, but adjustments made by the individual to that environment seem to produce a somewhat more apprehensive view of the world.

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[9] This categorization of teachers was devised by tabulating the total number of times a teacher indicated that a behavior would induce a probable sanction response. On this basis the teachers were divided into four groups of roughly equal size and given a score ranging from 1 to 4. In this analysis we are using those teachers who scored at the extreme ends of the index. Those with a score of 1 (0 to 16 sanction responses) are considered sanction-fearless; those with a score of 4 (45 to 126 sanction responses) are considered sanction-prone.

Another example of this kind of interaction is illustrated by the different perceptions of men and women. Men are more likely to be sanction-prone than are women. This difference could be explained by the fact that men are considerably more aware of conflict than are women. We have observed that men are able to recall more incidents involving community sanctions upon teachers than are women. Yet attitude toward sanctions also varies with mobility, a factor which is presumably unrelated to accurate perceptions of conflict. For instance, upward mobile females are much more sanction-prone than upward mobile males. But downward mobile males are more sanction-prone than downward mobile females. Also, the teaching experience seems to impact differently upon the perceptions of men and women. Thus, sanction-proneness increases considerably with experience among upward mobile and upward stationary women, but does not do so among men in these categories. Since women are less aware of actual conflicts than are men, it is difficult to attribute this increasing fear to direct reactions to sanctions. The teaching experience reduces the difference between sanction-prone men and women by generally *increasing* the fear of women and *decreasing* the fear of men. Initially substantial differences between the two groups are reduced considerably by experience.

Another difference between the perceptions of men and women of sanctions can be illustrated by the relationship between job satisfaction and sanction-proneness. Among men, those who are dissatisfied with their jobs are likely to be sanction-prone, whereas those who are satisfied are likely to be sanction-fearless. Among women, this relationship does not hold. In fact, dissatisfied women are actually more likely to be sanction-fearless.

An example of the consistent attitude toward sanctions, irrespective of sex, can be seen by examining the teachers of various subjects. We would presume that social studies teachers are more sanction-prone than any other teachers because their topic is most likely to provoke controversy and they talk about politics more in class. This is true. Holding sex constant, the social studies teachers still are more sanction-prone than teachers of any other subject.

There is also a clear relationship between ideology and attitude toward sanctions. Since superintendents believe that conservative pressures are more prevalent than pressures from liberal groups or individuals, it is not surprising to learn that liberals and people that score low on the Morality and Patriotism and Protestant Ethic scales are much more sanction-prone than are conservatives. On the other hand, there is no difference in the *educational* philosophy of sanction-prone and sanction-fearless teachers.

We know that it is possible for people to be somewhat inconsistent in their philosophies of politics and education. The normal ideological stance is to be liberal in politics and progressive in education, or conservative in politics and unprogressive in education. Yet there are 83 teachers who are liberal and unprogressive and 86 teachers who are conservative and progressive. There is a very striking relationship between these inconsistent ideological positions and attitude toward sanctions. Fifty-nine per cent of the liberal-nonprogressive teachers are sanction-prone as compared with 35 per cent of the politically conservative but educationally progressive teachers. These politically conservative and educationally progressive teachers are the most fearless of any ideological group. They are more fearless than those who are politically conservative but educationally unprogressive, for example. And, of course, they are considerably more fearless than both the liberal-progressive and liberal-nonprogressive group of teachers.

It may be speculated, therefore, that the safest kind of behavior as judged by the teachers themselves is political conservatism combined with educational progressivism. The fearless posture of the politically conservative and educationally progressive is, of course, somewhat related to the sanction attitude of women. Since women are more sanction-fearless than men and do combine political conservatism with educational progressivism, the relation of ideology to perception of sanctions is somewhat blurred. However, holding sex constant, it is still true that the political conservative and educationally progressive teacher is the most fearless.

In addition to ideological and background factors, perception of sanctions seems to be related to one's overall world view. For example, although people who are alienated and cynical lean toward the conservative end of the spectrum and should therefore be sanction-fearless, the reverse is true. Alienated and cynical teachers and those who have a low trust in others are much more likely to be sanction-prone than are teachers with a less jaundiced view of the world. About 39 per cent of the alienated and cynical teachers are sanction-prone as compared with about 15 per cent of those who are neither alienated nor cynical. Again, there are some confounding factors. People who are alienated and cynical participate less in the activities of the educational organization than those who are not. Yet the more experienced and active members of the organization are somewhat more sanction-prone than the inexperienced and inactive members. Thus, activity in the organization increases one's awareness of possible threats even though such activity is not related to alienation or cynicism.

Perceptions of sanctions and perceptions of propriety

So far we have talked only about perceptions of sanctions and have made no assumptions as to what people who have fearless or prone perceptions are likely to do. Would the fear of a sanction deter a person from a possible action, or would the fear of a sanction increase his determination to proceed irrespective of the consequences? In approaching this problem it did not seem feasible to present the respondents first with a possible behavior, then with a predicted community response, and finally with an individual reaction to such a response. In the first place, we are spinning the hypothetical situation rather far from the experimental situation. In the second place, unless one had actually experienced the sequence of events starting with the desire to act, followed by the imposition of a sanction, and concluded either by the continuation of the act or the cessation of the act, it is probable that predictions of behavior would be somewhat inaccurate. It is possible, however, to compare the behaviors and orientations of the sanction-prone and sanction-fearless teachers without making explicit reference to this hypothetical sequence of events and thus achieve some evaluation of the effect of one's attitude toward sanctions.

First, concerning the expressive or reticent role orientations of sanction-prone and sanction-fearless teachers, we can draw a clear distinction between intraclass and extraclass orientations. If it is a question of undertaking a given action outside of the class, the sanction-*prone* teachers are more likely to believe that a given behavior is proper and should be undertaken. Sanction-prone teachers are more likely to believe that joining unions, taking part in strikes and demonstrations, and criticizing local officials, are proper activities than are sanction-fearless teachers. In other words, even though they believe that these activities would result in negative sanctions, they still think that they should be undertaken. Here we note a clear exception to the high negative correlation noted previously between propriety and perception of sanctions. The normal relationship would be, due to the nature of this correlation for sanction-prone people to be much more reticent than sanction-fearless people.

This relationship is much more descriptive of the intraclass perceptions of the sanction-prone teachers. Whereas they see more propriety in undertaking controversial extraclass behavior, for them the classroom is *not* a forum for the expression of ideas. While about 47 per cent of the sanction-fearless teachers are expressive with regard to the classroom, about only 36 per cent of the sanction-prone teachers are expressive. This clear separation between the intraclass and extraclass expressive orientation of the sanction-prone teachers is perhaps best illustrated by the following table. (Table 7-3) Note that with regard to going on strike, the behavior most feared by teachers, the sanction-prone teachers are more likely to believe that this activity should be undertaken. However, when we examine a classroom behavior which is also likely to generate a severe sanction, the sanction-fearless teachers are those most likely to be willing to undertake such a behavior. It seems, therefore, that the classroom frightens the sanction-prone teacher much more so than it does the sanction-fearless teachers, but that these same sanction-prone teachers are not so much concerned with the extraschool environment. Since teachers in general believe that the greatest sanctions originate from within the school system, perhaps this distinction on the part of the sanction-prone teachers is rational.

Table 7-3/ Variations in Perceptions of Proper Behavior on the Part of Sanction-prone and Sanction-fearless Teachers

	Per Cent Believing Teacher Should or Should Not				
	Go on Strike		Speak in Class in Favor of Socialism		N
	Should	*Should Not*	*Should*	*Should Not*	
Sanction-fearless	26%	67%	48%	48%	215
Sanction-prone	35%	57%	30%	63%	190

Perceptions of sanctions and modes of activity

What about the actual behavior of the sanction-prone and sanction-fearless teachers? If role orientation can be related in a direct fashion to behavior, as has been the case in previous examples, then we would predict that the fearless teachers are less active politically than the prone teachers, but that the fearless teachers talk politics more in class. Considering the first prediction, we are correct. The sanction-prone teachers take a more active part in the political process. Thirty-five per cent of the sanction-prone teachers are very active as compared with 24 per cent of the sanction-fearless teachers. The sanction-prone teachers are also more active, as we have seen, in the Oregon Education Association. With regard to organizational activity, there is an interesting relationship between criticism of the organization and attitude toward sanctions. Thirty-six per cent of the sanction-fearless teachers say that they can find nothing to criticize about the OEA, whereas only 16 per cent of the sanction-prone teachers are so uncritical. The sanction-prone teachers are more likely to single out specific problems which they think the OEA has been unable to deal with satisfactorily, such as salaries and other benefits. These sanction-prone teachers are, therefore, clearly much more critical and much more generally evaluative of the organization.

Thus, the portrait of the typical sanction-prone teacher emerges as one characterized by an active and critical role in the political and organizational process. An expressive role orientation, an acute awareness of possible negative sanctions, and taking an active part in politics are part of a clear pattern.

Since the classroom is the source of the greatest fear of the sanction-prone teachers, we would presume that they would be more reluctant to talk about politics in class. Yet this is not the case. Even though they see less propriety in using the classroom as a forum, the sanction-prone teachers are more active in class, just as they were more active out of class. Here the relationship between expressive or reticent role orientation and actual behavior breaks down. Even though the sanction-prone teachers see less propriety in using the classroom as a forum, they still talk about politics more than do the sanction-fearless teachers. Consider, for example, the social studies teachers who do the most talking about politics. Eighty-eight per cent of the sanction-prone social studies teachers talk about politics always or often, compared with 74 per cent of the sanction-fearless social studies teachers.

The pattern of intraclass behavior, therefore, is somewhat different than that for extraclass behavior. The missing part of the equation is the expressive role orientation. We have the same relationship between attitude toward sanctions and actual behavior. We may say, then, that irrespective of the expressive or reticent role orientations of teachers, the relationship between attitudes toward sanctions and actual behavior remains. The nature of this relationship is, of course, correlational rather than causal. We do not argue that sanction-prone people undertake political activity and talk politics in class because of their perceptions of sanctions. We might just as easily argue that their active position produces this awareness of possible consequences. At any rate, the relationship between activity and awareness of sanctions is clear.

CHAPTER 8/

Conclusions

By concentrating upon two levels of inquiry—the teacher as a political actor and as a communicator of political ideas to students—we have dealt with teachers in the following situations: (1) as individuals reacting to their jobs and environments (chapters one through three), (2) as participants in an interest group (chapters four and five), (3) as expressers of political values in class (chapter six), and (4) as reactors to community sanctions (chapter seven). The major conclusions in each of these sections may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. Chapters one through three

1. Men are more dissatisfied with their jobs than are women.
2. Income does not change this relationship since high income males become dissatisfied as teaching experience increases.
3. On the other hand, high income females become more satisfied as their experience increases.
4. There is no clear relationship between sex, income, and political ideology; however, as teaching experience increases, so does political conservatism.
5. Generally, political and educational philosophy are related; however, high income women are both politically conservative and educationally progressive.
6. Males have a higher need for respect than females; hence, an exaggerated concern for authority is more typical of male teachers than of teachers in general.
7. Increasing teaching experience contributes to a reluctance to speak in class about controversial topics.

8. This reluctance is more characteristic of liberal than of conservative opinions.
9. The most consistent clustering of attitudes occurs among the high income females.
10. Males, irrespective of income or teaching experience, tend to be more alike in their attitudes; females are more divergent, depending upon income or teaching exprience.
11. The majority of male teachers are upwardly mobile; the majority of female teachers are not.
12. The relationship between mobility and attitudes is clearer among males than among females.
13. Among males, job satisfaction and mobility are related; upward mobiles are the most satisfied.
14. Upward mobile males tend to be the least alienated; the reverse is true of females.
15. A similar pattern can be observed with regard to cynicism.
16. Hence, upward mobility is more disturbing to females and downward mobility is more disturbing to males.
17. In general, male teachers respond to questions about political power in a fashion typical of females as recorded in national surveys.
18. Therefore, the expected relationship between mobility and attitude is clearest when politics is not involved.
19. The political values of mobile teachers fluctuate more through time than do the political values of stable teachers; the least fluctuation can be found among upward stable teachers, while the most fluctuation occurs among upward mobile teachers.
20. Downward mobile teachers appear to be the most conservative, irrespective of the measure of conservatism employed.
21. On questions of overt ideology, mobility is capable of minimizing sex differences; this is not true on questions of perception.
22. Thus, for example, downward mobility has a severe impact upon the male's need for respect but not upon the female's.
23. Downward mobile male teachers are the most misanthropic group.

24. Teachers in metropolitan areas are more satisfied with their jobs than teachers in smaller towns.
25. Female teachers have more trouble adjusting to small town environment while for men the migration to a large city presents a more severe problem.
26. Consequently, moving from a large city to a small town operates to reduce the difference in job satisfaction between males and females.
27. Males teaching subjects dominated by females are the most satisfied with their jobs.
28. Math and science teachers of both sexes are the least satisfied.
29. Although males believe they have less prestige in the community than do females, the difference between the sexes is reduced by teaching experience.
30. Job satisfaction is a more reliable clue to the measurement of political conservatism among males than among females.
31. Among men, there is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and conservatism.
32. A similar, but weaker pattern, characterizes the relationship between job satisfaction and opposition to change.
33. The relationship between job satisfaction and personal conservatism among men is not as strong as the relationship between job satisfaction and overt ideology.
34. Those most satisfied with their jobs are the most educationally progressive and have the greatest faith in schools.
35. For women, job satisfaction and attitude toward schools follows a consistent linear pattern; this is not true for men.
36. Consequently, even though men have a greater commitment to their occupation than do women, the relationship between their work life and their ideology and perception is not as clear as was predicted.

II. Chapters four and five

1. There is a relationship between reasons for joining an organization and perceptions of the proper political role of the organization.

2. The "active minority" of the Oregon Education Association is comprised of female teachers with considerable teaching experience in small towns.
3. For both males and females, participation in the organization increases with experience, but the increase is greater among women.
4. Teachers with high income participate more with teachers with low incomes with the least participation among downward mobile teachers. However, no matter how the income or mobility pattern of teachers is related to participation, women participate more than men.
5. There is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational participation; yet small town teachers, the least satisfied, participate actively in the organization.
6. Enthusiasm for the organization, greatest among small town teachers, is magnified among small town teachers who were raised in a small town.
7. Although females are more active in the organization, males are slightly more active in non-educational political affairs (this difference occurs principally among teachers with high incomes and long teaching experience).
8. Men view the organization as more "political" than do women.
9. However, while men want the organization to involve itself in general political matters, women are more likely to support the activity of the organization in educational politics.
10. There is a positive relationship between organizational participation and general political participation, but this relationship is clearer for men than for women.
11. Far fewer teachers believe they should engage in risky political activity than believe they should engage in relatively safe activity.
12. Among the active participants in the organization, men are twice as likely as women to believe that they should engage in risky political activities.
13. Although women are more active than men, they are less likely to engage in personal contact with an organizational leader.

14. Males are typically initiators of communications with organizational leaders while females typically are receivers of communication.

15. Among both men and women, tendency to agree with the goals of the organization increases in proportion to the extent of activity in the organization; however, this increase is greater among women.

16. Among both men and women, trust of organizational leadership increases with activity; however, women are more trusting than men.

17. Females view the leadership of the organization as politically influential while men see the leadership as relatively impotent.

18. Women view the organization in pluralist terms while men have a more elitist perception.

19. Men are more familiar with the policy positions of the organization.

20. Beliefs about the actual behavior of the organization are distorted by beliefs concerning the proper role of the organization.

21. Men, although dissatisfied with the organization, are more likely than women to accept its political advice, perhaps because of the positive relationship between perception of the legitimate political role of the organization and willingness to follow its political advice. Thus, females are more likely to follow the organization's suggestions about educational policies while males are more inclined to accept its suggestions about general politics.

22. The organization's anti-union pronouncements have an impact upon the attitudes of its members.

23. The professional staff members of the organization accept the maxim that they should do what the members want, but they are also jealous of their autonomy to do what they think best.

24. The professional staff is more inclined to favor involvement of the organization in a variety of activities than is the membership.

25. The greatest discrepancy between staff attitudes and member attitudes occurs on questions of the political activity of the organization.

26. The followers are more constrained than the staff with regard to political activities, with the exception of lobbying (about which there is a substantial consensus).
27. Whereas leaders are more likely to want to involve the organization in political affairs, they perceive the members to be more reluctant than they actually are.
28. The staff consistently underestimates the activism of the followers.
29. Staff members see their role as more important in securing salary increases than do the members; they are also more critical of unions.
30. However, the staff perceives more dissatisfaction among the membership than actually exists.
31. The staff is more liberal than the membership, but ideological differences are exaggerated because of the overestimation of the conservatism of the members.
32. With the exception of going on strike, the professional staff is more supportive of risky political activity on the part of teachers.

III. Chapter six

1. The classroom is not perceived by teachers as a medium for the expression of political values.
2. Proper behavior in the classroom can be equated with "safe" behavior.
3. Liberals are more expressive than conservatives. The clearest patterns of expressive orientations are found by contrasting the expressive male liberals and the extremely reticent female conservatives.
4. Active involvement in the political process contributes toward a view of the classroom as a forum for the expression of political opinions.
5. There is a positive relationship between expressive behavior orientation and actual discussion of political affairs in class.
6. Among the teaching population there is a "reversal" of the normal behavior of partisans; Republicans participate less

than Democrats in political affairs both within and beyond the classroom.

7. Large city teachers talk about politics more in class than small town teachers and are more politically liberal.
8. Politics is discussed most in social studies courses.
9. Though teachers in general are characterized by a conservative ideology, pupils are more likely to receive a liberal bias in class discussions because of the relationship between ideology and expressive behavior in the class (liberals discuss politics more than conservatives).
10. In general, teachers do not make a distinction between facts and values.
11. The stronger the agreement with a particular statement, the stronger the inclination to regard the statement as a fact.
12. Participation in the political process contributes to perceptual "bias" but this contribution is greater among liberals than among conservatives.

IV. Chapter seven

1. Teachers are more educationally progressive than members of the community in which they teach.
2. Small town teachers are more conservative than the community, while large city teachers are more liberal than the community.
3. Teachers perceive sanctions as originating from within the educational system rather than from the community.
4. Within the educational system, parents are the greatest threat, followed closely by school board members.
5. "Professionals," such as the principal, are less of a threat than lay participants in the educational system.
6. Most sanctioning agents are restricted to one or two issues.
7. Migrants are more sanction-prone than teachers who teach in the same kind of community in which they were raised.
8. Men are more sanction-prone than women.
9. Among men, there is a negative relationship between job satisfaction and fear of sanctions; the less the satisfaction, the greater the fear.

10. Social studies teachers are more sanction-prone than teachers of any other subjects.
11. Liberals are more sanction-prone than conservatives.
12. However, alienated and cynical teachers, who tend to be conservative, are also more sanction-prone.
13. Sanction-prone teachers are reluctant to express values in class but are more likely than sanction-fearless teachers to be active in politics. Clearly, the classroom experience is the greatest producer of fear among teachers.

To the extent that the high school teaching population is "different," because of the equal status of men and women, many of these conclusions are not generalizable beyond the present data. Indeed, high school teachers were selected for study precisely because they *are* unique. Few other occupations afford equal access to men and women. Therefore, replication of the study is difficult. The general conclusion that male high school teachers are not typical in their political behavior of the male population seems to imply that, even though there is a selective migration into teaching as an occupation, fundamental psychological differences may be reduced by means of the playing of societal roles. This conclusion is clearly more tentative than some of the narrower-gauge conclusions—those dealing with behavior in formal organizations, for example. Perhaps it is this tentative nature which makes it intriguing.

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For a general interpretation of the role of the teacher in politics, see Harmon Zeigler, THE POLITICAL LIFE OF AMERICAN TEACHERS (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967).